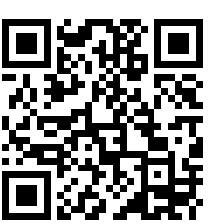

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XVII

TRADITIONAL CEREMONIAL AND CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE SCOTTISH LITURGY

BY

F. C. EELES

F.R.Hist.S., F.S.A. Scot.

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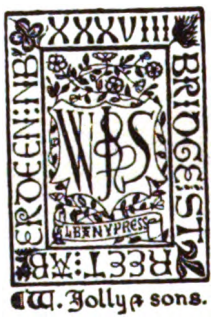

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

In 1884 the late Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr. Dowden, published his well-known work, the *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*. In it he dealt at full length with the present Scottish Liturgy from the historical and textual standpoint. The Scottish Liturgy in its present form was not the only product of the learning of the Scottish clergy of the eighteenth century; other services were drawn up about the same time for other purposes; these are still in manuscript, and are practically unknown to liturgical students. But besides the written and printed liturgical services there also grew up and were handed down a number of traditional customs connected with the rendering of the Scottish Liturgy and the other ordinary services of the Church. These customs are strictly of the nature of ceremonial, although that word is one of the last which would be popularly applied to the majority of them. They are of great liturgical interest, and several of them are of some practical value. With the kind assistance of many friends the writer has collected all that seems to be known about them, and he ventures to exhibit the result of his labours in the following pages. As far as possible he has tried to avoid encroaching on the ground which Dr. Dowden covered in his careful and accurate treatise on the text of the liturgy; and he has confined himself to customs which have clustered round our present services,

leaving for separate treatment the beautiful and interesting but now obsolete rites of the eighteenth century, whose use did not survive the generation which produced them. It has also been thought advisable to leave for separate treatment all questions relating to the ordination services and to matters of ecclesiastical and especially penitential discipline.

Several friends have pressed upon the writer the desirability of adding a short appendix of instructions for the clergy who wish to observe the more desirable of the old usages when celebrating the Holy Communion at the present day. But for many reasons this has not been done. It has been the writer's intention to present an impartial account of what has come down to us, whether good or bad, without selection; to produce a book for the liturgical student and not a directory for use in church. Moreover, the surroundings of the Church's worship in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries obviously included many things which ought rather to be avoided than imitated, and the writer did not wish to incur the charge of attempting to revive the bad as well as the good—a charge which experience has shown to be very readily levelled against one who ventures to suggest that any ceremonial mistakes have been made by the revivalists of the last half century. At the same time it is impossible to be blind to the practical value of many of these half-forgotten traditions, and the clergy to whom the principles professed by the compilers of our liturgy appeal, will not find it difficult "to refuse the evil and choose the good" among the practices handed down from the days in which those compilers lived.

The writer must beg the indulgence of his readers.

A collection largely composed of unwritten traditions is always unsatisfactory, particularly in liturgical matters, where students are accustomed to appeal to the *litera scripta* of texts and rubrics. If it be difficult to weigh the historical evidence of written documents, it is infinitely harder to do so in the case of oral tradition. The greatest possible care has, however, been taken not to overstate the case for the prevalence of any particular practice. And it may be necessary to caution the reader against assuming that, because a custom is found in one or two places, it was therefore general. On the other hand, it must be remembered that certain usages, now exceptional, may well be survivals of what at one time were common practices.

The reader who is familiar with the north of Scotland will pardon the repetition for the benefit of others of much that he already knows, and the liturgical student will doubtless remember that a book of this kind has a local as well as a more general interest, in consequence of which it has been thought well to add numerous details and references for the guidance of any who may be stimulated to further liturgical study.

At the time of going to press there are proposals for a careful revision of the Scottish Liturgy with a view to the issue of a standard text, and also for giving the canonical sanction of the Scottish Church to various additions to and deviations from the services contained in the Book of Common Prayer. The writer hoped that it might have been possible to include some account of these alterations and to have given the revised text of the Liturgy in an Appendix. But as the machinery of ecclesiastical legislation is slow, if sure, it will be a considerable time before effect can be given to any of the

new proposals, and as this book is connected rather with the past than the present it has been thought needless to delay publication.

It only remains for the writer to express his deep gratitude to all who have helped him in making this compilation; indeed it is to them that the student is indebted for any help he may derive from the following pages. It would be difficult to say how much the writer owes to the never-failing kindness of the Dean of Brechin, the Very Rev. William Hatt, whose keen interest and careful observation have furnished him with information, which probably no one else could have given, regarding the traditional customs of his native part of Aberdeenshire and his present charge of Muchalls. Indeed it was what he said in conversations several years ago that first suggested the making of this collection. The Rev. George Sutherland, Aberdeen, formerly of Portsoy, has also given a great deal of useful information. He has kindly contributed several notes which are identified by his initials. The late Bishop of Edinburgh, whose *Annotated Scottish Communion Office* has made the work of the Scottish non-jurors well known to all students of liturgies, very kindly read the proofs and made many valuable suggestions. The same has been done by the Bishop of Moray, the Dean of Edinburgh, and Dr. J. Wickham Legg, to whom the writer is particularly grateful for their ungrudging expenditure of time and trouble. Thanks are also due to the Bishop of Moray, till recently Principal of the Theological College of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and the Rev. E. Beresford-Cooke, formerly Diocesan Librarian of Brechin, for access to the books and MSS. in their respective libraries. The Very Rev. Vernon Staley,

Provost of Inverness Cathedral, the Rev. C. B. Beard, Helensburgh; J. W. Harper, Dunimarle; E. J. Petrie, Newlands, Glasgow; J. A. Philip, Kirriemuir; W. Presslie, Lochlee; J. H. Shepherd, St. Mary Magdalene's, Dundee; G. Thompson, Arley, Cheshire; T. W. H. White, Perth; have given much valuable help. Last, but not least, the writer must thank most of the clergy and many of the laity of the diocese of Aberdeen, that old stronghold of episcopacy and of the national liturgy, of whose ecclesiastical record every Scottish churchman may well be proud. To mention all to whom he is indebted would, it is to be feared, be impossible, but he cannot omit the names of the Rev. R. Cruickshank, St. John the Evangelist, Aberdeen; G. L. Duff, Turriff; W. Haslewood, Ellon; W. W. Hawdon, Banchory Ternan; the late Rev. G. Low, Folla Rule; J. Strachan, Cruden; F. Turreff, Fyvie; and more particularly the Rev. Robert Mackay, Longside, among others who ought to be mentioned if space allowed. Everywhere has the writer met with the greatest possible kindness, and his only regret is the weariness which he feels sure his innumerable questions must so often have caused.

F. C. E.

ABERDEEN,
3rd June, 1910.

Traditional Ceremonial and Customs Connected with the Scottish Liturgy

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

NOTHING is more common at the present day than to be told that the interest in the details of liturgical practice consequent on the Oxford Movement has been without precedent in the churches of the Anglican Communion since the Reformation. Certain controversialists are never tired of insisting that any sort of regard for the externals of worship—let alone the use of what is commonly called ceremonial—is an innovation upon the post-reformation usage of the Church. They interpret the Prayer Book in the light of the slovenly neglect prevalent in England in the early part of the nineteenth century. Plausible though this theory may seem at first sight, it turns out to be untenable when the light of history is thrown upon it. The slovenliness of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was itself of the nature of an innovation; it was not merely contrary to the letter and spirit of the Prayer Book, but it was in marked contrast to the practice of the better appointed churches in the seventeenth century and in the earlier part of the eighteenth. It is

1

true that those churches were in the minority, but there were many more than is commonly supposed, and it may well be claimed that their practice represented the ideal of the Church more closely than did that of the puritanical clergy, against whom episcopal Visitation Articles were continually being directed. It was in these churches forming the minority, that Prayer Book, Canons, and Visitation Articles were obeyed, and it is to them we must look if we would know how those formularies were interpreted by the more loyal men of that time. It is unnecessary to enter into detail here, as *Hierurgia Anglicana*[1] contains the bulk of the available evidence. Enough to say that conservative churches retained a not inconsiderable part of the mediaeval ceremonial, and that under the Caroline divines a great deal more was revived. Not until well on into the eighteenth century did the English Church become almost overspread with the state of desolation remembered by our fathers and grandfathers. Puritanism was rampant in the seventeenth century, and the puritan faction made no secret of their opposition to the Prayer Book and Canons, but indifference and neglect were a product of a later age. In spite of all, many old usages lived on till within living memory, only to be removed through want of knowledge at the beginning of the ceremonial revival which accompanied the later phases of the Oxford Movement.

But it is not only the puritan controversialist who ignores the true history of ceremonial since the Reformation. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that much the same misrepresentation has been used as a

[1] 2nd. ed. 3 vols. London, De la More Press.

reason for bringing in foreign ceremonial by some who claim to belong to what is called the Catholic party. It has been said that the old ceremonial of our dioceses is dead and gone; that all continuity is lost; and that a fresh start must be made on "modern Western" lines. Rome, and very modern Rome, is made by these men the test by which all old survivals are tried, and by which nearly all are condemned. The neglect of, and the disobedience to, plain rules which prevailed in England before the Oxford Movement, was indeed widespread and was bad enough, but it seems to have been represented as worse than it really was, with a view to avoiding the fact that in recent times we have used certain parts of the older ceremonial, which form no part of the normal Roman use, although still followed in many districts of the Continent.

Post Reformation ceremonial in England has been dealt with in the book already referred to, and in Dr. Wickham Legg's learned paper on *Ancient Liturgical Customs now falling into disuse.*[1] The design of the present publication is to preserve some account of post-reformation liturgical usages in Scotland. Scottish post-reformation ceremonial is not so much the continuance of mediaeval usage, as the offspring of the revival of primitive doctrine and practice by the non-jurors in the eighteenth century; although there is reason to think that one or two of the traditional usages may perhaps be survivals from the middle ages.

The Scottish Liturgy has been deservedly called the finest in the English language. Built up from materials

[1] *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. ii. p. 113; reprinted in *Essays on Ceremonial*, London, De la More Press, 1904, p. 39.

gathered from East and West, some of the highest antiquity, others but a few hundred years old, it is primitive in structure, Catholic in arrangement, yet modern in its comprehensive brevity. It has lived through two bitter series of attacks, both of which owed their origin to the southern part of the kingdom. The first was from the standpoint of an extreme protestantism which looked upon the English liturgy as the model of perfection, but knew little and cared less about the faith and practice of the majority of Christians from the beginning. The second was from the standpoint of an almost equally narrow Latinising theology, which did perhaps know one other liturgy—the post-tridentine Roman—but was the more harmful, became the more insidious, and based upon that little knowledge which is proverbially dangerous. Attacked by these two opposing schools of thought, the Scottish Liturgy has lived to see both of them decay, and their place taken in the minds of thoughtful men by a more liberal theology with a wider outlook, which knows the teaching of the East as well as of the West, of antiquity as well as of the present day, and has been accompanied by a school of scientific liturgical research of something like European fame. The result has been that the Scottish Liturgy is now valued far more highly than ever it was before.

Those few comparatively obscure eighteenth century ecclesiastics who built up the Scottish rite, hampered as they were by extreme poverty and political persecution, must have been men of deep learning and remarkable genius, or they could never have done such a magnificent piece of work. It would have been very strange if they had left no tradition at all how their handiwork was

to be carried out. And yet no one hitherto seems to have thought it worth while to investigate the matter, or to ascertain whether the strong conservatism of the older congregations retained any tradition how the liturgy should be rendered. Perhaps the obvious impossibility of any ceremonial in the popular sense of the word may have deterred men from such an enquiry.

But it is more likely that the unfortunate liturgical ideas which began to prevail after the middle of the nineteenth century had something to answer for in the matter. Those who can realize the poverty-stricken state of the Scottish churches early in the nineteenth century cannot wonder that all eyes were turned to the ecclesiological revival in England as the one great source of light. With English gothic architecture other English church customs began to come in. At first these were of a most desirable kind, and led to the erection of church-like churches, the abolition of such things as "pumphal seats" and the revival of those accessories of divine worship which Christians have more generally used. But a Romanising movement in ceremonial followed upon the ecclesiological revival. Men in England acted too hastily, and liturgical zeal outran liturgical knowledge. Modern continental customs, often of a kind by no means desirable, came into use, often because people thought they were old English, but sometimes because Romanising ceremonialists cleverly introduced them under the specious though misleading name of "Western use." Thus in England certain things came to be looked upon as "correct" and everything else as "incorrect." And this notion was imported into Scotland, and led to the abolition of several old liturgical customs which were much better than those which took their places. This

was often done in the most perfect innocence, by loyal upholders of the Scottish Liturgy, but it appears to have been otherwise in the case of men who were infected with the puritanical or the Romanising dislike of the national rite.

These traditional Scottish usages and customs have lasted to our own day. They still exist in some places, chiefly in the diocese of Aberdeen, and are being restored in others. When we take into consideration the small number of the old non-juring congregations and the destructive causes just enumerated, it is wonderful that any traces of them can be found. It is easy to see how difficult has been the work of collecting them, and yet this work has been amply repaid by the result, for it has shown that side by side with the text of the Scottish liturgy there grew up a certain amount of ceremonial tradition regarding such practices as the circumstances of the Church allowed to be carried out. This tradition must once have been much more clearly defined than it is now, and one of the first things a reader will notice in the following pages is the great diversity which exists at present. In one church, for example, a particular custom obtains and in the next it does not. But this diversity seems to be in great measure a thing of recent growth, and is largely to be accounted for by the disuse in some places of usages which have lived on in others. It is probable indeed that most of the customs mentioned were at one time in use in almost all the older congregations. At the same time variations certainly existed to some extent; for example, in the time at which the chalice was mixed, some performing this ceremony before the service, others at the offertory. Yet on the whole, considering the circumstances, the uniformity

of practice was much greater than one would have expected.

Most of the customs with which we have to deal are connected with the Scottish Communion Service,—the best liturgy in the English language, and the product of the time when Scottish episcopalians were groaning under the severity of the penal laws.[1]

It will be advisable to say a few words to explain the position of those who gradually brought the Scottish liturgy into its present form, and whose clear and consistent appeal to antiquity gave us many of the traditional customs.

A great part of the Scottish Church was strongly Jacobite at the time of the Revolution in 1688-90,[2] the bishops and many of the clergy refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. While the English non-jurors were a small minority which became still smaller after secession from the Church, the Scottish non-jurors formed the majority of the faithful remnant of

[1] It must not be thought that all the usages described in the following pages are necessarily good and worthy to be restored. Many of them might certainly be revived, and their disuse in some places is a matter for regret; but there are others which were adopted by reason of the circumstances of the Church in non-juring days, or were founded upon mistakes, or arose from the idiosyncrasies of particular priests, and some of these are by no means matter for imitation.

[2] The state of the Church of Scotland before the Revolution was very different from that of the Church of England. The services were almost indistinguishable from those of the Presbyterians, at any rate in the generality of churches. It would take too long to explain why this was the case, as it would involve an outline of the religious history of Scotland since the Reformation in 1560. The reader will find a short account of it in Dr. Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, to which also reference must be made for a description of the services as they were at the time of the Revolution.

the National Church which was true to the principle of Episcopacy.[1]

Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century the same form of religion which was established south of the border was penalised on the northern side, and its northern representatives were in communion with a body that was schismatic in the southern part of the country. Although the surroundings of the Church's worship in those days were mean and poor to a degree, and ceremonial in the sense in which the word is now commonly understood was out of the question, by the middle of the eighteenth century the services were generally conducted with great care, and with attention to such ceremonial details as circumstances allowed. True, the ancient Church had become "a shadow of a shade," but that small remnant was refined and purified by the fire of persecution, and the irreverent carelessness which afterwards became common in eighteenth century England was all but unknown. The reasons for this are not far to seek, and to find them we must first of all turn to the English non-jurors, who were freed from the overwhelming burden of puritan latitudinarianism which weighed so heavily upon the Church of England at the time, and had ample leisure to devote themselves

[1] "In Aberdeen and the northern dioceses many of the clergy would have accepted William and Mary. In the Presbytery of Alford twelve out of sixteen would have done so. In 1692 the "regular" clergy of Aberdeen and the north sent two representatives to the General Assembly to give in their adhesion under King William's letter and form of 1691. But the deputation as well as the larger movement of southern clergy represented by Dr. Canaries was not admitted. Proof of this will be found in pamphlets connected with the movement for Toleration in 1703, and in most accounts of the General Assembly of 1692, which was abruptly dissolved." G.S.

to historical research and theological reading. This they turned to good advantage. Unrestricted by connexion with the State, or by the prejudices of those who were dissenters in everything but name, they at once endeavoured to bring their liturgical practice into closer conformity with that of the primitive Church. A communion service for their own use was printed in 1718,[1] and in 1734 Thomas Deacon, an English non-juring bishop, issued what was for all intents and purposes a complete prayer book.[2] In 1748 was published a reprint from *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, of a liturgy and other services which had been drawn up by Thomas Rattray, Bishop of Dunkeld.[3] These books contained provision for the practices which were known as the *Usages*, that is to say, certain liturgical customs which their advocates held to be catholic in the true sense of the word, and consequently of binding obligation. These "Usages" were:—

(i) Explicit invocation of the Holy Ghost in consecrating the Eucharist. (ii) The Prayer of Oblation at the consecration of the Eucharist. (iii) Remembrance

[1] *A Communion-Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the first English Reformed Common-Prayer Book: together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick.* London: Printed for James Bettenham, at the Crown in Paternoster Row 1718.

The late Bishop of Edinburgh has reprinted the Communion Office in his *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, pp. 293 *et seq.*

[2] *A Compleat Collection of Devotions, both Publick and Private: Taken from the Apostolic Constitutions, the Ancient Liturgies and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England.* London: Printed for the Author and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1734.

[3] *A form of Morning and Evening Prayer, Daily throughout the Year. Together with an Office for celebrating the Christian Sacrifice.* London: Printed in the Year MDCCXLVIII.

in prayer of the faithful dead. (iv) The mixed chalice. The foregoing were sometimes called the "greater usages" to distinguish them from certain other usages, which were looked upon as being of less importance,[1] namely :—(i) Baptism by immersion ; (ii) Chrism at confirmation ; (iii) Anointing of the sick ; (iv) Reservation for the sick.

Not all the non-jurors were in favour of the Usages. There were many who could not conscientiously take the oaths under William and Mary, but who were content with the English Prayer Book as it stood, and who violently opposed the "Usagers." The "Usage Controversy" was long and acrimonious, and did much to weaken the non-juring cause.[2] But among both usagers and non-usagers its natural result was a keen interest in liturgy, coupled with scrupulous attention to practical details. This liturgical revival began, as we have seen, among the English non-jurors, but it quickly found its way into Scotland, whither the usage con-

[1] "Support of the distinction between major and minor usages will be found in the *Scottish Episcopal Review*, vol. ii. (1821) ; in the *Historical Outline of the Episcopal Church of Scotland*, p. 205, and on the general question pp. 187-196. The article is understood to be by Dr. Gleig. See also the language of Bishop Gadderar's personal agreement with the College of Bishops, 1724 (Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* 1788, vol. ii., p. 633), and an original letter from Gadderar to Bishop Rose, 1719, in the Episcopal Chest at Edinburgh (A. No. 31). Bishop Rattray in a letter to the College Bishops says that the difficulty of introducing the Liturgy was greater than the difficulty of introducing the Usages (Thos. Stephen's *History of the Church of Scotland*, 1843, vol. iv. p. 189)." G.S.

[2] On the non-jurors and their controversies, see *A History of the Non-jurors : their controversies and writings ; with remarks on some of the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer.* By Thomas Lathbury, M.A. London, William Pickering, 1846, and also *The Non-jurors, their lives principles and writings.* By the Rev. J. H Overton, D.D. London, 1902.

troversy soon followed it. The Scottish non-jurors seem never to have formally adopted, though no doubt they were much influenced by, the service books printed by their brethren in England; indeed it is doubtful if the 1718 book and Deacon's were ever more than occasionlly used in Scotland. A larger body than the English non-jurors, and less uniformly well instructed, the Scottish clergy made no attempt at first to print a service book of their own, but began by using the English Prayer Book. Later on the Scottish liturgy of 1637[1] was brought into use in places, and gradually superseded the English rite as far as the Communion Service was concerned. By slow degrees the present Scottish liturgy was developed through arranging the 1637 service in such a way as to bring it more closely into agreement with primitive models, and what is generally looked upon as the received text was first printed in 1764.[2] The various

[1] In 1712 the Earl of Winton reprinted in a smaller form the Book of Common Prayer which had been prepared for Scotland in 1637. This book seems to have been actually used in places in the 18th century and it exercised a wide influence.

[2] The earlier editions of the Scottish Liturgy had the parts of the Prayer of Consecration in the same order as the 1637 book, which in this respect copied the English Prayer Book of 1549 in which the Invocation of the Holy Ghost *preceded* the recital of the narrative of the Institution and the Oblation. The researches of the non-jurors in liturgiology had shown them that the primitive and all but universal order of parts in the Consecration placed the Invocation *last*, and so we find it in the book of 1718, in Deacon's Liturgy of 1734 and Rattray's Liturgy of 1744 and 1748. The Scottish Liturgy was at length revised so as to bring it "to as exact a conformity with the ancient standards of Eucharistic service as it would bear" the Invocation being placed *after* the words of Institution and Oblation. This was in 1764, and this form of the service superseded all others and has since become generally recognised as the *textus receptus* of it, although at present there is no text of standard authority as regards *minutiae*, like the English Book Annexed or the American Standard.

steps in the process were recorded by the late Bishop of Edinburgh in the book referred to in the preface. At the same time numerous liturgical customs came into use. Some of these seem to have been suggested by the English non-jurors' books, but others were of native growth.

While many of the old customs are due to the revival of the liturgical spirit among the non-jurors, a persistent tradition ascribes others to a date long anterior to the eighteenth century. In many places where Episcopacy held out during the days of persecution, Presbyterianism had never really obtained a footing. Some of the very out-of-the-way districts can have been little affected by the rapid changes which convulsed the more populous centres, and it is scarcely to be wondered at if a few of the old customs never died out.

In 1792, when the Penal Laws were repealed,[1] the ancient Church consisted of a handful of congregations, served by only 39 clergy, mostly in the north-east of Scotland. It is this mere handful of churches which preserved the Scottish rite.[2] Now at that time there were a number of Anglican churches in Scotland in a schismatical position. They formed no part of the national episcopal Church; the Hanoverian occupants of the throne of England were prayed for by name in them, and they were consequently known as "Qualified" congregations, to distinguish them

[1] It was not until 1863 that the last disabilities affecting Scottish episcopalians were removed.

[2] "There were I think many more meeting places, served in rotation. I know of a case in the beginning of the Nineteenth century, where one man served three congregations of which two still exist. I believe the Rev. Paul MacColl of Appin had more." G. S.

from the congregations of the Scottish Church, which were non-juring, and therefore disqualified for civil toleration. After the repeal of the Penal Laws, these schismatical congregations gradually submitted to the jurisdiction of the Scottish bishops, and they brought into the Scottish Church some of the worst traditions of the English and Irish Low Church party. This explains the numerous cases of irreverent and careless services which were to be found in Scotland at the beginning of the Oxford Movement. Such things formed no part of the tradition of the genuine Scottish episcopacy.

CHAPTER II

Church Furniture and Clerical Dress

§ 1 *The Church Building*

In the eighteenth century the churches that existed prior to the enactment of the Penal Laws were made very like those of the Presbyterians, so as to attract as little attention as possible. They seem to have had but little more furniture than pulpit, reading-desk and altar, probably one behind the other, in the fashion of the time. The precentor's or reader's desk seems to have been called the latron—i.e. *lectern*, as among Presbyterians, e.g., in the Muthill accounts for 1708 we have,

Sunday, Dec. 26, 1708.

Given for setting up a lattron in the meeting house, ... 01 04 00

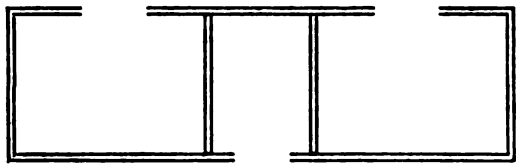
and in the Peterhead accounts for 1731 we find:—

To Cash pd. for Covering the pulpit and latrin, — 1 —

To Do. pd. for linen Cloath for the Communion table, — 6 4½

From "the '45" to the death of George II, the Penal Laws were administered with relentless severity. After the accession of George III in 1760, these laws, though unrepealed, were not rigorously enforced. In 1745 and 1746 all episcopal churches and chapels were burnt or

destroyed by the Hanoverian party,[1] and for the following twenty years services could only be held with the utmost caution "in dens and caves of the earth," or occasionally in private houses in remote districts.[2] After 1760 the expedient was resorted to of building churches in such a way as to evade the effect of the laws while complying with their strict letter. A building like an oblong cattle-shed was erected in a rough manner in some out of the way place, and it was divided into three rooms as shown in the accompanying plan :—



The small central compartment was for the priest and the maximum congregation allowed by the Penal Laws, viz. five persons. The partitions were high enough to prevent the people who occupied the different rooms from seeing each other, but they did not reach to the roof. The doors into the large end compartments were

[1] The chapel at Muchalls Castle, although built and used by a powerful Whig family, was burnt by the "Butcher" Cumberland in 1746. This and other like cases are sufficient to show how the party in power were determined to destroy episcopacy if they could, even where no political danger was to be feared from its followers.

[2] "After the first outburst I believe the prosecutions were not very numerous. Informers were held odious, and it became necessary to send out soldiers to act as witnesses when pressure was put on the authorities to put down meetings. Dr. Temple's father told me of his uncle watching for the soldiers coming from Aberdeen to the Udny meeting. For other instances see Craven's Bp. Forbes (Life) and Bp. Jolly's experience." G. S.

on the side of the building opposite that which contained the door into the priest's room, so that the people who entered them could approach the "church" from the reverse direction. As the end rooms were separate from the central room, it did not matter how many people assembled in them, and in this way a large congregation could be gathered, and could join in the service without breaking the iniquitous laws. Some few churches were built which contained more rooms, but they were on the same principle.

In some places, especially in towns, a house was used in this way. The clergyman and the legal five assembled in one room, and the congregation in the adjacent rooms. Or the clergyman and the five were in the passage at the head of the stairs, and the congregation in the various rooms entering from it. This was the case at Montrose, in the house which stood in the High Street until it was destroyed a few years ago to make room for the Public Library.

At Banff, Portsoy, Old Meldrum, and probably in other places, the first churches after the repeal of the Penal Laws were built in cottage form. The churches of Banff and Old Meldrum were let as cottages when better churches were built. That at Banff is still standing, a substantial cottage on the Braeheads. At Portsoy the old church was converted into the present parsonage in 1840 when the new church was built.

At Chapelhall (Udny), now merged in Ellon, the chapel was built like a joiner's workshop. This was *before* the Penal Laws were repealed. It was used till 1816, when a church was built at Ellon to serve the congregations of Chapelhall and Tillydesk, from plans furnished by Bishop John Skinner, who had charge of Tillydesk

and Bernie before he moved to Aberdeen.[1] This church was never consecrated. It was an oblong body or nave, with a shallow apse in the east gable, the windows being on the north side and in the apse only. The altar was in the apse, close to the wall, small, and the back of it was shaped to the curve. The rails ran in the line of the gable. A "three decker"[2] stood a little in front of the rails; in later days it was cut down to reading desk and pulpit. There was a west gallery which afterwards held the organ and the best singers in the congregation.

One arrangement of the cottage plan of church seems to have been to have the altar in a small enclosure in the side of the building opposite the door, with the reading desk on one side of the enclosure and the pulpit on the other. Sometimes these last were at the back of the altar.

After the repeal of the Penal Laws, the Church, as may be imagined, was miserably poor, and the buildings at first very often combined both chapel and priest's house, the latter occupying the lower story, the former being above. Even when early in the nineteenth century, the churches began to be built separately again, it was long before the builders shook themselves free of the influence of the days of persecution and the practice of their Presbyterian brethren around them. Their doctrine was different, but as often as not the altar was a small and mean table below the pulpit, or in some corner near it.

[1] "He died in 1816, when the Church at Ellon was just finished and a sermon intended for the opening was found in his desk and used on the occasion." G. S.

[2] That is to say, a structure, or structures, consisting of a precentor's desk with the reading desk behind it on a higher level and the pulpit behind the reading desk on a still higher level.

These circumstances must be borne in mind when discussing traditional usages, in order to understand the absence of many things which any one would naturally expect to find, who knew only the liturgy and not the circumstances of the Church at the time.

§ 2 *Clerical Dress*

The black gown was the vesture for all ministrations[1] until the Synod of Aberdeen in 1811 recommended the cautious introduction of the surplice, which was not used in many churches until very much later, although it had come into use at the end of the eighteenth century in one or two places. Indeed at Lochlee, in the Forfarshire highlands, the black gown was worn for all services within the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. When the surplice was re-introduced, no attempt was made to imitate the degraded form commonly seen on the Continent; but the large and full kind was adopted,[2] such as had been

[1] See Wagstaffe Case, Appendix p. 164.

[2] Recent research tends to show that the albe and surplice were originally the same vestment. Anciently both were long, reaching to the ground, and both were full. The surplice had large wide sleeves, the albe had narrow sleeves and was always worn with a girdle and an amice. The original vestment may be seen in mosaics set up about A.D. 547 at Ravenna, where it is of the surplice form. The narrowing of the sleeves and the addition of the maniple and girdle for certain occasions seems to have arisen in consequence of a Judaising ceremonial movement which overspread the Western church at the beginning of the Middle Ages. The name surplice (Lat. *Superpelliceum*) is of much later introduction. Because the surplice-like form of the vestment is earlier than the other form it does not follow that it was worn alone for Eucharistic use, as some Protestant controversial writers have maintained. The mosaic at Ravenna just referred to, shows the chasuble worn over it, and in the Orthodox Eastern Church at the present day the chasuble is worn over an albe without an amice.

in continuous use in England during and since the middle ages. Some of the clergy kept one specially and exclusively as a eucharistic vestment, and this was usually smocked and embroidered round the neck.

One of these was recently found in a chest at Kirriemuir just before the old church was burnt down. Another old Scottish surplice is in the possession of the Rev. J. W. Harper, the present rector of Leven. It was used by the late Dean Harper, incumbent of Inverurie and Dean of Aberdeen, and has the peculiarity of a square opening at the neck; it does not contain so much linen as many old surplices, although of course it is large and full.

Bishop William Skinner was said to be the first to reintroduce a surplice in the north. In 1801 he became curate to his father, and amongst other "new fangled" notions from Oxford, he brought a surplice. Bishop Sandford did not venture to wear a surplice in Edinburgh "till his new chapel was built." When he first came to Scotland his chapel "would have been pulled about his

The albe and surplice have been distinct in the West for ages and we now have no right to use the surplice under the chasuble without the albe as well, except in cases of necessity. But the point to be noticed is that the surplice, like the albe, is properly a vestment that comes to the ground or at any rate below the middle of the shin, as the Council of Basel laid down. This prescription of the Council of Basel was enforced pretty well all over the West, e.g. at Aberdeen in 15th century statutes (*Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Edin. 1845, vol. ii. p. 62). The cutting short of the surplice is a very modern innovation. Baruffaldi, a standard Roman commentator on the *Rituale Romanum* follows Bauldry in saying that it should reach *infra genua fere ad media crura* and that it should have very large sleeves and be exceedingly full. Both refer to the *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* of St. Charles Borromeo, which are still of very great authority in the Roman Church. (*v. Ad Rituale Romanum Commentaria*, Tit. II. § VII; Venice 1752 pp. 10, 11.) See Appendix I. for the Scottish Canon of 1811.

ears had he done so." The "new chapel" referred to was probably Charlotte Chapel.[1]

The following is part of a letter from the Rev. Canon Bruce, of Dunimarle to the late Rev. N. K. Macleod, rector of Ellon, which is printed in *The Buchan Churchman*, vol. i., pp. 53, 54.

"I hasten to say that my memory carries me back to about 1828 or 29—by which time the surplice (as the vestment for Morning and Evening Prayer and the Administration of the Holy Communion) had come generally into use. The Black Gown was always used in preaching, and in private offices, such as Baptism, Marriage and Funeral Services, as they were then and for some time afterwards performed.

. . . . . .

"Bishop Torry never wore the surplice. When performing Episcopal acts, which he very seldom did, he assumed the Lawn Sleeves. In going to the houses of his flock for Private Services, he was wont to walk through the streets in his Gown and Cassock, as I have seen him do. He was a man of very dignified aspect, and it was a fine sight to see his portly figure so attired, with Shovel Hat and Silver-headed Cane, passing along the thoroughfare.

The last time in which I saw him thus was about Christmas-tide, 1844, when I, a lately-advanced Deacon, had come to spend a short holiday at Peterhead. The incumbency was then vacant by the removal of Rev. Charles Cole to Greenock. A member of his flock had just died, and the good Bishop, by whom she had been baptized, had been asked to take her Funeral Service. He being then past 80, gladly availed him-

[1] See a letter from Dean Hook to Dr. Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews, in the present bishop of Salisbury's *Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth* p. 176. Also Lockhart's *Taunt to the Scots Clergy*; qu. Thos. Stephen, *History* vol. iv. p. 229 and Lawson's *History*, vol. ii, p. 250 "priests in the diocese of Edinburgh, who as if they were serving the covenanted cause, should change their black gowns into brown cloaks." Bishop Jolly did not introduce the surplice till 1825, see Appendix VII.

self of my help, and we went to the house together. On calling for the Bishop, I found him already vested in Gown, Cassock and Bands. But the day being very inclement, and snow falling heavily, he put on over all, an old-fashioned loose greatcoat which, of course, he laid aside on coming to the house, I meanwhile carrying my surplice in a bag. Of Bishop William Skinner's custom I may say this, that when I was a boy at Aberdeen Grammar School, I well remember that on the Sunday mornings when he always preached at St. Andrew's Church he was wont to come into Church at the beginning of service in his black gown. In it he remained in the Sacrarium during morning prayer, and in it he read the Ante-Communion Service and preached; of this a memorial probably still remains in a small half-length portrait of the Bishop, painted by J. Giles R.S.A., about 1838, in which he is represented in gown, and bands, reading the Service from an open quarto Prayer Book. This portrait used to hang in his dining-room in Golden Square before the larger portrait in his lawn sleeves was painted. The Sunday Services were then conducted in strict accordance with the Prayer Book. You are aware of course that in the administration of the Holy Communion, according to the Scotch Office, addresses and hymns were largely interpolated. The Church Militant Prayer generally followed the Sermon, often from the pulpit and always in the Black Gown, unless when there was another clergyman already vested in surplice. The Black Gown for the whole service was used by the Rev. A. Simpson[1] at Lochlee, Glenesk, during his Incumbency, so bringing down the use to a much later date than the days of Bishop Torry."

In *Old Church Life in Scotland* (2nd series, Paisley, 1886, p. 391) Dr. Edgar writes "People still living remember when such gowns were denounced by some good folks in Scotland, as the rags of popery. The wearing of black gowns by ministers, when either performing divine service or attending Church courts,

[1] Mr. Simpson was Incumbent of Lochlee from 1840 to 1871.

was enjoined by Act of Parliament 1609, and subsequent Royal Proclamations founded thereon. In 1612 it was minuted by the Synod of Fife that 'the haill number of the brethren present were found in their gownes, exceptand some few, quho in the next Session wes found sic lyk to gif obediens.' The wearing of a gown came, thus, to be thought a compliance with Erastianism—submission to the King's command—and a badge of Prelacy. At the reforming Assembly of 1638, when Episcopacy was abjured, Bishop Burnet remarks that 'the Marquis (of Hamilton) judged it was a sad sight to see such an Assembly, for not a gown was among them all, but many had swords and daggers about them.'" In *Church Folk Lore*, p. 231, Mr. Vaux quotes evidence that about 1822 the clergy in Philadelphia, U.S.A., used the black gown for prayers as well as preaching in Advent and Lent.

The black scarf, properly called the tippet, was worn by all clergy whether dignitaries or not. Deacons wore it in the same way as priests. This was certainly the case at Peterhead, Fraserburgh, Longside, Fyvie, St. Andrew's Aberdeen, and everywhere else, as far as the writer has been able to gather, after the introduction of the surplice, and sometimes before.[1] Bands were also worn of course, as they had been in earlier days with the black gown. Latterly the black scarf fell out of use, owing to some of the clergy copying the unintelligent things that were being done in England, where certain people had mistaken the black scarf for a corrupt kind of broad stole, and then adopted first a black, and afterwards a coloured stole at all services, without regard to the ecclesiastical custom of this country, which had generally restricted

[1] As in the case of Bishop Jolly, see Appendix VII.

the use of the stole to the administration of the sacraments. At Longside there is an oil painting, representing Dean Cuming in cassock, gown and bands. The cassock was of the double-breasted kind traditional in England and Scotland and almost identical with that used throughout the Orthodox Eastern Church.

§ 3 *The Altar*

The holy table was generally called the altar, the prejudice against this word, so frequently found in England, being practically unknown. That the word altar was applied clearly and definitely to the holy table itself and not merely to the place where it stood,[1] is easily proved by contemporary documents as well as by the unanimous witness of those who can remember the days before the influence of the Oxford Movement became felt.

As far as the writer can gather, the holy table was always kept covered, at any rate during the celebration of the Eucharist, when a large linen cloth was employed which enveloped the whole of the altar.[2] At Ellon and Fraserburgh the altar was covered with a red cloth cover enveloping top, front and ends, but not the back, which was close to the wall: the loose cloth

[1] In the Eastern Church the place where the altar stands is called the altar, and what we call the altar is called the holy table.

[2] Speaking roughly two forms of "fair linen cloth" have been used in the West from time immemorial. One, which is probably the older, completely envelops the altar or at any rate covers the front for the same distance as the sides. This is probably the more ancient and may be seen in early mosaics at Ravenna. The other form covers the mensa and the two ends, reaching to the ground at each side, but not covering more than an inch or two—if that—of the front. Both are equally legitimate. It is a great error to regard the larger form as in any sense "Protestant" or of Post-Reformation introduction.

at the front corners was drawn out obliquely, just as may be seen in certain pictures of Eighteenth century altars, e.g., those in *The Orthodox Communicant*, engraved by Sturt, 1717.[1] At the time of the Communion the large linen cloth was used, enveloping the altar to the floor, and at Ellon it was pinned close to the frame work at the ends. At Stonehaven the arrangement was similar.

The altar at Turriff was very small and almost square. At one time it had a blue frontal of some historic interest.[2]

At Peterhead the altar was covered with a crimson velvet frontal on all sides, which was embroidered in front with a gold IHS in a glory of rays. A large white cloth, with fleur-de-lys etc., in diaper, covered

[1] At Staunton Harold in Leicestershire an altar of this kind may still be seen in the beautiful chapel of Earl Ferrers, which was built by Sir Robert Shirley in 1653, in fifteenth century style, and is a good late specimen of genuine English gothic architecture. Here the original frontal, cushions, candlesticks and plate are still in use, as well as the large linen cloth, and the whole chapel and all its fittings are good examples of the best post-reformation tradition, such as the non-jurors endeavoured to carry out.

[2] A fragment of it is preserved in the Diocesan Museum at Aberdeen together with the following extract from the Turriff minute book :—

"In the year 1780 the Blue Cloth cover and hanging of the Altar, having the letters I.H.S. that is Jesus Hominum Salvator, and a Cross encircled in silver embroidery, was given by a Bishop Gordon in London, the last Nonjurant Bishop there, to a Mrs. Gibson, a Widow Lady in Banff, she being in London at the time, and ordered her to give to any Clergyman or Congregation in Scotland that she should think proper, as he hoped and expected it would meet with more reverence and respect in Scotland than what it was likely to do in London at that time, as mobs were daily burning and demolishing all the Popish places of worship. And the said Altar Cover having a cross upon it, he feared that his Chapel might share the same fate, as upon that account it might be mistaken for a popish Chapel:—Accordingly the said Mrs. Gibson brought it to Scotland and gave it to Mr. Jolly for the use of this congregation."

the whole when the Eucharist was celebrated. The linen cloths at Cruden, Longside and Fyvie were of the same kind; that at Cruden had IHS with a glory of rays woven in it. Two damask corporals 25 inches square woven with IHS, crosses, mitres and crossed croziers, are still preserved at Cruden. One corporal only was used as a rule, and was turned up so as to cover the chalice after the communion.[1] In some churches, however, as at Ellon, no corporal was used upon the altar, but only to cover the vessels from the communion to the end of the service. The same appears to have been the case at Peterhead, where the elements were set on the altar at the beginning of the service, at any rate in Dr. Rorison's time. This is the only case which the writer has found of the observance in Scotland of this unrubrical practice—a survival from the middle ages which was common enough in England, Wales and Ireland. Before the offertory, the elements were often covered with the upper corporal as they stood prepared on the credence.

§ 4 *Plate*

In the altar plate used in the eighteenth century we naturally expect to find neither elegance nor richness, nor even any very strongly marked individuality of form. Congregations which were penniless, if not persecuted, could only use such vessels as they could get, and the

[1] This is the most ancient form of corporal and remained in use all through the middle ages side by side with the more recent custom of using two smaller corporals which seems to have come in about the 11th century, if not earlier. St. Anselm, writing about 1100, says "Whilst consecrating, some cover the chalice with a corporal, others with a folded cloth (*Opera* 138, c. 4). The damask corporals were very likely made in England.

earlier vessels are almost all of pewter. In form, they were simple and sometimes rather clumsy variants of the types used late in the seventeenth century, or by the Presbyterians of the eighteenth. After the repeal of the Penal Laws there was an approximation to late eighteenth century English types, and most of the more modern plate is English. The sacred monogram surmounted by a cross and encircled with a glory of rays generally formed the only attempt at decoration on the plate of the eighteenth century. The patens were nearly always large. Sometimes they had short stems like the Eastern paten or δίσκος: this was also frequently the case with English patens of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The few existing eighteenth century flagons are of the usual tankard type with a hinged lid. There are some large plain pewter alms dishes. Some churches possess rather eccentric looking early nineteenth century plate which appears to have been made for domestic purposes and given to the church by generous benefactors. It is only when we come to the chalices that we find anything of liturgical as distinct from merely archaeological interest. Besides the ordinary eighteenth century chalices with their more or less straight sided cups and their small feet and almost knot-less moulded stems, we find the peculiar form know as the 'beaker,' in frequent use all over the north-east of Scotland. Episcopalians and Presbyterians alike used them in the seventeenth century, and the latter still possess and use a great number, some of which are very richly ornamented. These vessels are like large metal beakers or tumblers; sometimes they have small feet, like rims round their bases, sometimes their lips are slightly curved outwards, otherwise their form scarcely

varies at all. Chalices of this type are common among the reformed in Holland, and they are also used by the Lutherans in Denmark and on the shores of the Baltic. They made their first appearance in Scotland under what is known as 'the first Episcopacy,' and the oldest examples are those belonging to the parish church of Arbirlot in Forfarshire, which are dated 1633 and 1634, and were made in Edinburgh in 1608-1610. Most of them however were made in Aberdeen and (with one exception) they are not found south of the Tay. They are most frequent in the counties of Forfar, Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Nairn and Orkney and Shetland. Perhaps the richest examples are at King's College and the Cathedral, Aberdeen, and the parish church of Ellon. The parish of Cruden possesses some large plain beaker chalices given by Dr. James Drummond, who was bishop of Brechin from 1684 and lived at Slains Castle after the disestablishment of Episcopacy at the Revolution. They are inscribed:—

> DEDICATED TO THE SERVICE OF IESVS AND OF HIS
> CHURCH AT CRUDEN BY DR IA DRUMMOND
> LATE BISHOP OF BRECHIN WHO DIED AT SLAINS.
> 13. AP. 1695.

Some idea of the proportions of chalices of this type may be gathered from the dimensions of these, which are $6\frac{3}{16}$ in. high, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. across the mouth and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the foot, which is $\frac{7}{16}$ in. in height, or rather, thickness.

The beaker chalices made during the eighteenth century were of pewter and very plain, and it only remains to say that examples still remain in the possession of several congregations, although the writer believes that none are in use at the present time. Their practical

inconvenience is obvious. Montrose, Drumlithie, Stonehaven, Longside and Old Deer are among the churches possessing them.[1]

§ *Tokens*

If not actually to be reckoned as a part of the church plate, the Communion Tokens were generally looked upon as intimately connected with it. They were (and are) small metal tickets given to intending communicants as a certificate of being in full communion with the Church, and therefore entitled to partake of the holy mysteries. In older and stricter times none were admitted to communicate without producing one, and this discipline is still kept up by almost all Presbyterians in Scotland, although the metal token is fast giving place to the printed card.

The history of the communion token with special reference to Scotland has been very carefully written by Dr. Burns in his *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, pp. 435-468, and by Mr. Alex. J. S. Brooke, F.S.A. Scot., in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1907, vol. xxxviii, so that it is unnecessary to do more than give an outline of it here.

[1] Scarcely any plate survived the Scottish Reformation, but that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is often of great beauty and interest, exhibiting more variety of shape and treatment than the English plate of the same period. The whole subject has been very fully dealt with by the Rev. Thomas Burns in his *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, Edinburgh, 1892. Dr. Burns confines himself to the plate of the parish churches. For pewter, *Scottish Pewter-ware and pewterers*, L. Ingleby Wood, Edinburgh, n.d. [1907?] may be consulted, in which the writer illustrates and describes practically all the pewter plate belonging to the Episcopal Church.

The origin of the custom is obscure: it is said that tokens were used in pre-reformation times, but the writer has not seen satisfactory evidence of it, at least as regards this country. It is certain, however, that the practice at once becomes prominent just after the Reformation, and especially among the continental reformed communities. By 1560 they had been introduced in France by Calvin and Viret under the names *mèrreau*, *masreau*, *marreaux* and *marque*, but were not adopted at Geneva till 1605. They were common in Holland and used by the Amsterdam Walloons as early as 1586. In England they appear in 1559 at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and Cardinal Pole is said to have used them in Mary's reign. At Newbury, Berks, 300 tokens were bought in 1658, and in the parish books of Henley on Thames they are called "Communion half-pence." In 1634 one John Richardson was charged at Durham with disturbing Divine Service by irreverence in collecting certain dues. A witness deponed that his predecessor "tooke Easter reckenings of such people as received the holie communion and there accompted with them, and delivered and received tokens of them, as is used in other parishes as examinate beleveth." Tokens are first mentioned in Scotland under the name of 'tecket' in the kirk session records of St. Andrews, in May, 1560, and for a long time they were frequently called 'tickets' or 'testificats.' A meeting was held shortly before the day on which the Communion was to be administered, and the intending communicants were examined as to their scriptural knowledge and their moral and spiritual condition. Tokens were given to those whose answers were satisfactory. The written ticket existed side by side

with the metal token as early as 1572 at St. Andrews.

The size of the tokens varies slightly, and their form varies considerably. Some are square, others round, elliptical, octagonal, or triangular. Sometimes the letters or devices on them are in relief, sometimes incised. The custom of dating tokens began as early as 1588, but it did not become common until late in the seventeenth century. Tokens generally bore the minister's initials with or without the name of the parish in a greatly abridged form, such as PHD for Peterhead. From the end of the seventeenth century onwards various devices and ornaments appear on tokens, and in the eighteenth century short texts of scripture became common. On many Presbyterian tokens devices and emblems appear which are often very surprising and would scarcely have been tolerated upon anything else. Thus the Sacred Heart appears on the tokens of Evie and Rendall 1734, Anwoth 1755 and Mochrum 1759, and a Latin cross with INRI on that of Langton, 1789.

Tokens were sometimes moulded, sometimes cut with a punch. Lead was generally the metal used, but a few are of tin and a few of brass.

After the Revolution the disestablished congregations sometimes contrived to retain possession of the old tokens, but in the majority of cases it was found both necessary and desirable to make fresh ones. These generally followed the old models and were usually very plain, although many were adorned with a cross and some bore the sacred monogram IHS, often surmounted by a cross.

At Peterhead some oval tokens bear S / PETERS / PHD on one side and a Latin cross surrounded by CHR. MORT.

PRO NOBIS on the other. These are probably the tokens to which the following account refers :—

Dr. The Managers of the Chapel to James Argo			
Paid Mr. James Arbuthnot for the Pr Acct	£0	7	6
Paid for forging stamps for Making tockens	0	2	6
„ to Making and Ingraving the stamps } „ and Casting off 500 tockens }	2	1	0
Peterhead April 27th 1797 } the Above is settled Pr. Stampt } Jas. Argo Receipt of this date. }	£2	11	0

Almost all the old nonjuring churches used tokens, including those at such places as Dundee, Arbroath, Forfar, Montrose, Aberdeen, Ellon, Fyvie, Folla Rule, Longside, Fraserburgh, Forgue, and Arpafeelie. Mr. Robert Dick gives particulars of over 50 different tokens made or believed to have been used by Scottish Episcopalians since the disestablishment of Episcopacy at the Revolution, on pp. 96-101 of *Scottish Communion Tokens other than those of the Established Church*, Edinburgh 1902. This list however appears to include one or two Presbyterian tokens. The practice was revived at St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and All Saints, Edinburgh, in the nineteenth century, and it is continued at Longside, Leith and St. Mary Magdalene's Dundee by means of printed cards.

Tokens were in use at Longside and Old Deer as recently as 1893, and at Cruden on the great festivals as late as 1895. At Cruden they were given out from the chancel steps on the previous Sunday or Holy Day immediately after the Service ; then on the festival they were collected by two of the Vestry as the communicants passed up to the altar. It was customary up to a recent date at Ellon for the incumbent to stand near the west

door after service on the Sunday previous, to take down the names of the intending communicants. [1]

At Fraserburgh the clergyman stood within the altar rails on the previous Sunday; intending communicants went up and bowed to him; as he returned the bow he took down the name of the communicant.

In earlier times the tokens were probably given out at a preparation service during the week and not upon the previous Sunday.

[1] *Buchan Churchman*, I. pp. 36, 53.

CHAPTER III

The Preparation of the Eucharistic Elements

§ 1 *The Bread*

Until very recently the universal practice with regard to the sacred elements was to use "ordinary bread, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten." At Fraserburgh the bread was specially baked by a member of the congregation, and it contained only the finest flour, with water and a little yeast. Red wine was used, nearly always tent. With their knowledge of Eastern practice one is not at all surprised that the nonjurors adhered to the use of leavened bread. Their knowledge of antiquity would also teach them the very striking universality of red as against white wine.

The bread was generally prepared somewhat as follows. Several slices were cut from one loaf, without crusts, and carefully squared. These were placed above each other and cut through about thrice each way, so as to make numerous small square pieces.[1] The top slice

[1] In Aberdeenshire the Presbyterians have retained the tradition of dividing the bread into small cubes, instead of merely cutting it into slices to be broken by the communicants themselves.

The Presbyterians of the south west of Scotland long retained the practice of using shortbread for Communion. This was at one time universal round Dumfries and in Kirkcudbrightshire and is still the custom at Minnigaff on the west side of the latter county. A special kind of bread is still used at Wigtown. The writer hopes to deal at length with this practice upon some other occasion.

in some places, e.g., Muchalls, was treated differently: it was made into the form of a cross by cutting rectangular pieces from each corner, and was used by the priest for the ceremonial fraction during the consecration. At Arbroath, however, five small cubes were placed in the form of a cross on the top of the rest and one of them was used for the fraction. In this more or less ceremonial preparation of the bread we seem to find an echo of the practice of the Eastern churches, where the bread is specially baked, stamped with a cross, and is divided and set out on the paten with great ceremonial elaboration in the service of the Prothesis before the commencement of the liturgy itself. There is no resemblance however, in the details of the ceremonial, that in the Eastern rites being considerably more elaborate, and having a definite symbolism attached. This symbolism has no counterpart in the Scottish custom.

§ 2 *The Mixed Chalice*

The mixed chalice was one of the "greater usages" and before the middle of the eighteenth century it became practically universal. Indeed, when the Penal Laws were repealed, there was probably not one of the northern congregations in which the mixture was not used.

In 1809 the Rev. Robert Adam wrote of the mixed chalice as follows:—

"In commemoration of the blood and water which flowed from our Saviour's side when pierced with the spear, every branch of the Christian church, the Armenians excepted, administered the sacrament of the blood of Christ in a mixed cup of wine and water, till the Reformation, when Luther first departed from this

primitive practice, and was followed by the reformers at Geneva. The mixture is accordingly practised in this church, though not enjoined in her Communion Office."[1]

There appear to have been two distinct traditions as to the time when the mixture was made. In some places this was done at the time of the offertory, just before placing the bread and wine on the altar: in others before the service. This last appears to be much the older, probably a survival from pre-reformation times at least, while the mixture at the offertory would seem to be an introduction of the nonjurors. It is very hard to know which was the commoner, for about thirty or forty years ago, certain people, wishing to popularise the making of the mixture at the offertory, set up a false distinction between what they called a "ceremonial mixture" and a "non-ceremonial mixture," and thus found a reason for condemning as unsatisfactory any mixing of the chalice not carried out in a particular way at the time of the offertory. It was said by mid-Victorian ceremonialists to be "correct" if done in this way and at this time; "incorrect" if done otherwise. Hence in the case of many churches it is very hard to tell whether the mixture at the offertory was really the old custom, or whether in these cases it was formerly done before the service and was transferred to the time of the offertory some thirty or forty years ago.

In places where the sacred elements were prepared before the commencement of the service, the bread was cut and placed on the paten, and the wine and water

[1] *A view of the History, Doctrine, Worship, Constitution and Present State of The Episcopal Church in Scotland, and of her Sister Church in America*, by the Rev. Robert Adam, B.A., Edinburgh, 1809, p. 32.

were poured out, usually into the flagon, on account of the large number of communicants. The writer has been told that it was the custom of some old Aberdeenshire priests when pouring the water into the flagon or chalice,[1] to say the words "A soldier with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water." Bishop Robert Forbes left in MS however a long prayer to be said at the mixture "composed according to St Cyprian's Explanation of this Usage." This will be found in Appendix II.

The elements so prepared were set on the credence, or upon some substitute for the credence—scarcely ever on the altar itself.[2] The credence table, indeed, was sometimes a mere bracket fixed to the side of the pulpit. Rather than that the rubric should be broken by the elements being set on the altar at the beginning of the service, a chair was made to serve

[1] This formula was used by Alexander Jolly, the well known and learned Bishop of Moray, who was also incumbent of Fraserburgh in Aberdeenshire. He repeated it aloud. Mr. Vaux quotes the late Henry Humble, Canon of Perth, as saying that "the celebrant, in making the mixture, which was done publicly in all churches of the older type, used to say, and still in some places continues to say:—'And one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side, and thence came there out blood and water.'" (*Church Folklore*, p. 69).

[2] Bishop Jolly, in a note in his *Christian Sacrifice*, Aberdeen, 1831, pp. 143-4, quotes a private letter from Dr. Walker, Bishop of Edinburgh, in which he describes the practice at Manchester Collegiate Church in 1813. He says, "the elements were not upon the altar, but covered on a side table, in the south corner, within the rails. One of the assistant clergy went, immediately after the offertory was placed upon the altar, uncovered the elements, and brought them to the warden, into whose hands he delivered them; and the warden, having solemnly placed them upon the altar, said, with a loud voice, 'Let us pray for the whole state,' etc."

the purpose of a credence table in case of need. The credence was covered with a linen cloth. The elements remained in this position during the first part of the service, and after the presentation of the alms at the offertory they were brought from the credence and, in some places, solemnly offered, both kinds *simultaneously*, with a slight elevation: nothing being said by the celebrant.[1] Where, as at Longside, the mixture was made in a separate vessel, it was now poured into the chalice or chalices. It is worthy of note that the Russian practice at the present day is for the deacon to make the mixture in a separate vessel when preparing the table of the Prothesis, and afterwards to pour the mixture into the chalice during the Service of the Prothesis.

§ 3 *The Mixture before the Service*

This custom of making the mixture before the service is one of the most important with which we have to deal, for there is good reason to believe—reason which almost amounts to proof—that it has existed continuously for many centuries, ever since the days of the Irish missionaries who introduced Christianity into Scotland.

In the simple form in which we have described it, this ceremonial corresponds to what is done in those Eastern rites which the revisers of the Scottish Liturgy took as their model. But it was certainly not introduced by them, for it had been done by a tradition which was old

[1] While perhaps most modern liturgies provide some verbal offering of the unconsecrated elements, the Anglican rites are not alone in prescribing no form of word at this time, as witness the Roman rite prior to the 10th or 11th centuries, and certainly up to the middle of the 9th.

in the time of Thomas Rattray, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1727-1743, who writes:

> "It may not be improper also to remark, that even before we had the Common Prayers, it was the custom in many places to mix a little pure and clean water with the Sacramental Wine—not indeed at the Altar but in preparing the elements before. This custom was almost universal throughout the North, perhaps from the very time of the Reformation, and after this time we are now speaking of, came to spread still somewhat more: several of our younger clergy especially beginning to acquaint themselves with the principles and practices of the Primitive Church, and to pay great regard to them."[1]

Previous to the Reformation the elements were prepared before the service at low mass under the Sarum rite,[2] which was used in the greater part of Scotland, and in the Gaelic tract which accompanies the Stowe Missal the preparation also takes places before the service.[3]

[1] Quoted by Dr. Dowden, *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 53.

[2] Indirect testimony to this may perhaps be found in the words of John Major, the well known historian and theologian, a man of Scottish birth, who, in his treatise on the Fourth Book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard writes, "Et debent vinum cum aqua misceri a principio sacrificii: quia vinum aquam in se conuertit in magno tempore: non autem sic in brevi tempore." *Iohannis Maioris doctoris Theologi In Quartum Sententiarum quaestiones vtilissimae.* Venundantur a sui impressore Iodoco Badio in officina Iodoci Badii Ascensii, 1519. Dist. xii, quaest. v, p. lxvj col. ii. In other places of this book John Major mentions Scottish circumstances, and it is not easy to think that in this he would have given advice contrary to the prevalent Scottish use without saying so. His book is dedicated to Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld and Robert Cockburn, bishop of Ross.

[3] With this pecularity, viz. that the water was poured in first, then the wine. See Appendix III.

The Dominican Order still prepares the chalice before the service at low mass[2]; the same is done in Spain in the Mozarabic rite, and it was formerly done in several Western rites, at high as well as at low mass.

The question of the liturgical moment of the mixing of the chalice demands a somewhat more detailed consideration.

Before the sacred elements are ready for consecration three actions generally take place.

(i) The bread is placed on the paten, the wine and water are poured into the chalice.

(ii) The chalice and paten, with the elements thus placed in them, are taken to and set upon the middle of the altar.

(iii) The elements are offered as material for consecration before they are consecrated.

There are numerous variations in the way in which these ceremonies take place and in the subsidiary accompanying ceremonies, but for the present we must confine our attention to one point, viz, the *time* in the service at which these things are done. For the present we need not consider the actual *preparation* of the elements. In some rites the bread is made or baked with prayers and ceremonies. In the Russian Church the actual mixture of wine and water is made beforehand by the deacon without ceremony, and the mixture thus made is poured into the chalice during the Service of the Proskomide before the liturgy itself begins. Elsewhere there seems to be no such preliminary preparation of the wine and water, the

[2] For the Dominican rules now in use prescribing what is done at the present day see Appendix III, § 3.

mixture being made in the chalice when the elements are poured in, whether before the liturgy or at the offertory.

The offering (iii) is always made at the time of the offertory, the very beginning of the *Missa Fidelium*, but the time at which the first two actions take place has varied considerably in the different rites of the Church. Sometimes (i), (ii) and (iii) are all found together at the time of the offertory. This is perhaps the less common arrangement; but the Roman rite at high mass is the great example of it. Sometimes (ii) and (iii) take place together at the time of the offertory, the elements being set on the altar immediately before they are offered, having been placed in the paten and chalice (i) at a much earlier point in the service; this seems the most primitive use; it is now practised throughout the East[1] and is the same as

[1] The reader must be cautioned against assuming that the Russian and Greek practice are the same, for they differ in the time of the making of the mixture although not in the time of the filling of the chalice. In both cases the chalice is filled, not during the liturgy itself, but during the preliminary Service of the Proskomide, which is held at the table of the prothesis. In the Greek Church the mixture itself is made when the chalice is filled, the deacon pouring first wine from one cruet and then water from the other into the chalice. But in Russia there is no such use of two cruets during the Service of the Proskomide; there the deacon has already made the mixture in a separate vessel called a Kovshick, like a small basin. This mixture is made without any form of words being said, and before the deacon puts on his vestment; the basin containing it remains, covered, upon the prothesis near the empty chalice until the time arrives for the deacon to pour it in. There is yet another difference, inasmuch as in Russia the water is poured in first and extremely little is used, whereas in Greece the wine is poured in first and then a fair quantity of water in the form of a cross, sometimes nearly as much as a third of the contents of the chalice. It is hardly necessary to add that the addition of hot water in the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom takes place *after* consecration. The Greek and Russian rubrics for the filling of the chalice are as follows:—

our Scottish custom. Sometimes (i) the placing in the sacred vessels and (ii) the setting on the altar, take place together at an early part of the service; the oblation, (iii), here little more than verbal, being made at the usual place; this is what is done in most non-Roman Western rites, including those of Sarum and of the modern Dominicans. Looking at the Church at large, the custom of doing (i), (ii) and (iii) all together, although perhaps the most familiar to us now, is really the more exceptional. In England it only seems to have prevailed at Hereford. Mr. Brightman, however, considers it the most primitive. Where (i) and (ii), viz. preparation, and the setting on the altar, take place early in the service, there is sometimes a difference between high and low mass, the time in the service being earlier still at the latter. Thus in the Sarum rite (as with the Dominicans at the present day) the chalice was mixed and set on the altar between the Epistle and Gospel at high mass, while at low mass this was done before the service. But in some rites there was no such distinction as to time of mixture between high and low mass.

Although the Roman rite of the present day retains the old Roman ceremonies at high mass, (i), (ii) and (iii) all taking place together at the offertory, a curious anomaly exists at low mass, the preparation of the two kinds being separate. The bread is placed on the paten in the sacristy by the priest before he vests, and that is

Greek. Ὁ δὲ Διάκονος ἐγχέει τῷ ἁγίῳ Ποτηρίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ῥάματος ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, [Εὐχολογίον τὸ μέγα. Ἐν Βενετίᾳ 1851.]

Russian. (Trans. from the Church Slavonic). *The Deacon then pours into the Holy Cup wine and water together.* [John Glen King, *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia.* London, 1772.]

set on the altar before the beginning of the service, together with the empty chalice, while the wine and water are not poured into the chalice until the time of the offertory.

Another rather abnormal rite in this respect is the Carthusian, and the peculiarity is also evident at solemn or conventual mass. The celebrant at low mass places the bread on the paten, and pours the wine (but not the water) into the chalice before the beginning of the service. When the time of the offertory arrives, he mixes the chalice by pouring in the water. At high mass all this is done by the deacon, and the preparation which is made before the service at low mass does not take place till later, although still separate from the actual mixture which is at the same time as at low mass.[1]

From what has been said it will appear that the time at which the sacred elements are prepared has varied (and still varies) considerably in different parts of the Church. It is undoubtedly an ancient practice to *prepare* the elements and place them in the sacred vessels before the altar service begins. The custom of setting the elements on the altar at the beginning of, or very early in, the service, while very common in mediaeval Western rites, seems to be peculiarly Western, and although distinctly ancient, is not primitive, and partakes of the nature of an anticipation of the offertory ceremonies. It is difficult to see how it can be followed in the face of the modern Scottish or English rubrics. The Scottish rubric speaks of the sacred elements as already "prepared," i.e., probably before the service.

Reasons have been given which go far towards show-

[1] For the Carthusian rules see Appendix III § 2.

ing that the making of the mixture before the service in Scotland is the survival of a very ancient usage, and not a fresh introduction by the non-jurors.[1] The English non-jurors' practice was different: they made the mixture at the offertory: this seems to have been a new introduction, while the mixture before the service was an old survival. The non-jurors' liturgy of 1718[2] was influenced in many ways by the English Prayer Book of 1549[3] which prescribed that the mixture should take place immediately before the offering of the elements. This had been the use of Hereford, hence perhaps its finding its way into the 1549 Prayer Book, although it never seems to have been at all widespread in England. So we find the non-jurors' book directing that the chalice be made at the offertory. Their curious direction that the mixing take place "in view of the people" forms a

[1] This is also borne out by the fact that the usage of a mixed cup survived among the Presbyterians in out of the way parts of West Aberdeenshire until almost within living memory. Dr. G. W. Sprott, formerly Minister of North Berwick writes, "The late Dr. Bisset of Bourtie informed me that some of the older clergy whom he knew as a young man, were very particular about continuing the use of a mixed cup which had been handed down to them. The Synod of Aberdeen, during the Covenanting Period attempted to stop this early Christian usage, but without success. In the visitation of parishes one of the questions put at that time was, 'Is your wine for the Holy Communion mixed with water or not?'—see Davidson's *Invcrurie*, &c. pp. 308, 311. Boston speaks of the usage in a way that leads one to believe that it was common in the South of Scotland also." *The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*, by George W. Sprott, D. D., Edinburgh, 1882 p. 242.

[2] In Appendix III § 4 will be found in parallel columns the rubrics relating to the preparation of the elements in the English Prayer Books of 1549 and 1662, the modern Scottish Liturgy (1764), and the nonjurors' liturgies.

[3] *Ibid.*

strange contrast to their otherwise consistent appeal to antiquity and universality, for there is not a single ancient liturgy in which any such provision is made. True, there were numerous mediaeval Western rites in which it might have been possible for the people to see the mixing, but only accidentally, and not of set purpose. We have met with the idea in our own day; more than one Romanising ceremonialist has tried to popularise the making of the mixture at the offertory by giving this reason. But it might just as well be said that the people ought to see the cutting of the bread—an act which in many liturgies is accompanied with more ceremony than the making of the chalice.

In the later non-juring liturgies—Deacon's 1734[1] and Rattray's 1744 and 1748[2]—the words "in view of the people" still find a place, but accompanied by very different directions for the rest of the preparation of the elements. Study of the Eastern rites seems to have suggested to the compilers that the sacred elements ought to be prepared before the service. So we find this ordered for everything but the pouring of water into the chalice, which takes place alone at the time of the offertory, and "in view of the people." Curiously enough the ceremonial here prescribed agrees very closely with that of the Carthusian monks, ancient and modern, which also orders the pouring of the water into the chalice to take place by itself at the time of the offertory, the wine being already there.[3] It seems highly improbable that the non-juring

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] For the Carthusian rules see Appendix III § 2.

ritualists consciously imitated the Charterhouse rite. It is more likely that the desire to mix the chalice "in view of the people" prevailed over everything else—even over their wish to follow Eastern usages; and perhaps a misunderstanding of the infusion of hot water which takes place after the consecration in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom may have suggested adding the water at a later point in the service. At the same time it is quite possible that the Scottish clergy may have known that it is the practice of a Greek bishop to make additional symbolic commemorations by taking extra pieces of bread and placing them upon the paten at the time of the offertory, immediately before the great entrance.

§ 4 *The Mixture at the Offertory*

We now turn to the second tradition regarding the mixture, viz. the making of it at the time of the offertory, which as we have said, appears to have been introduced by the non-jurors.

It would of course be very surprising if the rubrics of the English non-jurors' liturgies exercised no influence upon Scottish practice,[1] and we naturally find that there were certain churches—among them Lochlee in Forfarshire, and Ellon, Fraserburgh and Fyvie in Aberdeenshire—where it was traditional to make the mixture at the time of the offertory "in view of the people," though

[1] The late Bishop of Edinburgh suggested that Bishops Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar assisted the English non-jurors in the compilation of their liturgy of 1718. To satisfy the non usage party, Gadderar agreed in 1724 that he would not "mix publicly" (*Annotated Scottish Com. Office*, pp. 72, 77.)

not ostentatiously so. These churches were probably very numerous, for one of the rubrics after the Communion Service in Bishop Torry's Prayer Book runs:

> "It is customary to mix a little pure and clean Water with the Wine in the Eucharistic Cup, when the same is taken from the Prothesis or Credence to be presented upon the Altar."

Other evidence pointing in the same direction, and belonging to Bishop Torry's diocese, is to be found among the manuscript additions to a copy of the Scottish Liturgy, which were transcribed from those in an old one used at Kilmaveonaig, and printed by Hall, for "In the rubric which directs the Presbyter to place upon the Lord's Table the bread and wine '*prepared for the Sacrament*,' it is added, '*openly* mix, and bring kneeling.'" This may very well be a tradition from the time of Bishop Rattray, whose office of 1748 has just been mentioned.[1] At Ellon a linen cloth was used to cover the elements on the credence, as well as one to cover the credence itself.

Further evidence of the same kind may be found in the fact that Bishop Seabury introduced a direction to mix the chalice at the offertory into the Communion Office which he printed for the use of his diocese of Connecticut in 1786.[2] In it the rubric at the time of the offertory runs thus:—

> "¶ *And the Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine, prepared for the sacrament, upon*

[1] See the late Dr. J. M. Neale's *Life and times of Patrick Torry*, London, Masters, 1865, and the late Bishop of Edinburgh's *Annotated Scot. Com. Office*, passim.

[2] *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 291.

the Lord's table,[1] *putting a little pure water into the cup : and shall say,*

Let us pray for the whole state . . ."

At Fyvie an empty paten was placed in the middle of the altar and an empty chalice on each side. This was done before the service when the mixture was made in the flagon, which together with a plate containing the bread, and a glass crewet containing the water, was then set on the credence table. At the offertory the priest took the bread from the credence table and placed it on the paten on the altar. He then took the flagon containing the mixture to the altar, and poured it out into the chalices, placing them side by side behind the paten and covering them with an unfolded corporal. He also covered the bread with a corporal, folded. That which remained of the consecrated elements after communion was arranged and covered in the same way. There was no lower corporal. The credence was, as usual, on the north side.

The mixture took place at the offertory at St. John's Aberdeen, Stonehaven, Cruden and Peterhead as far back as the writer has been unable to discover, but it is

[1] In his *Companion for the Book of Common Prayer* published at a later date, Dr. John Hobart writes :—"The Offertory. The bread and wine are then *placed upon the table by the Priest,*" to which he adds a footnote, "The elements are commonly placed on the altar before Morning prayer by the *clerk* or sexton. This is contrary to the rubric, and to the custom of the primitive Church" (p. 53). Later still the Rev. William Staunton wrote :—"Though the prothesis has for the most part been banished from our Churches, yet in the Communion office there is a distinct allusion to it, and the rubrics cannot be fully met without some provision of this kind. . . . With the justice of this sentiment [a quotation from Wheatley] Bishop White fully concurred, and (if we are rightly informed) always had a small side-table near the altar of his Church in Philadelphia."—*A Dictionary of the Church*, 2nd ed. New York, 1839, p. 388.

only fair to add that the evidence does not go back very far in any of these cases.

All this supports the rubric in Bishop Torry's Prayer Book. Now this prayer book was very largely the work of the Rev. Alexander Lendrum, an Aberdeenshire clergyman, and a native of the Meikle Folla district, who was incumbent of Muthill in Perthshire at the time it was drawn up. Its rubrics may very well represent the custom of Muthill, or perhaps also of Meikle Folla. Bishop Torry, we may remember, was incumbent of Peterhead.

In a copy of the 12mo edition of the Scottish liturgy printed in 1764 by Drummond at "Ossian's Head," Edinburgh, which is bound up with a Book of Common Prayer printed at Edinburgh in 1761, and left by the Rev. James Lyall to the Episcopal Chapel at Kirriemuir there is a marginal note in MS at the rubric *And the Presbyter shall then offer up*, etc., probably indicating words to be used, as follows :—

> "While our Saviour J+C hung upon the Cross a Soldier pierced his most blessed side and . . . ."

The margin is cut away where the rest was written.

The evidence of this points in the same way, and it may be noted that Kirriemuir, like Kilmaveonaig, was in Dr. Rattray's diocese.

In *The Office for the . . . Holy Communion according to the use of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, with a preliminary dissertation* (Aberdeen, 1807, p. 108) the Rev. John Skinner says: "After the rubric for offering up, and placing the bread and wine, prepared for the Sacrament, upon the Lord's table, the first Liturgy of Edward directed, that to the wine there should be put

'a little pure and clean water;' and to this practice, though no such direction occurs in her Communion Office, the Episcopal Church in Scotland still adheres." This may perhaps be interpreted as alluding to the mixture at the offertory, but the writer more probably intended to refer to the fact of mixture without reference to the time of mixing, as he only quotes the words referring to the water, and not the whole of the Edwardian rubric.

CHAPTER IV

The Liturgy

§ 1 *Before the Offertory*

From the preparation of the elements we now pass on to consider the ceremonial of the service itself.

The non-jurors' liturgy of 1718 and Deacon's liturgy of 1734 each gives a list of the psalms for the introit appointed in the First English Prayer Book of 1549. The use of an introit, due no doubt to the influence of the English non-jurors, appears in Scotland as early as 1731, if not earlier, for we find references to psalms for this purpose noted in MSS of sermons, dated 1731 to 1737, preached at Peterhead and now preserved among the church records there. The writer of these sermons, probably William Dunbar, Bishop of Moray and of Aberdeen successively, made a note, generally at the top of the first page, of the day of the month, the lessons and the introit for the day, thus :—

> Phd Decr 23 : 1733 / Fourth Sunday in Advent Mat I Less Isai 30 : 2 Less Acts 23 : / Vess I Lesson Isai 32 : 2 Less I John 3 : Introit Psal 5 /

In every case the introit is the same as that appointed in the 1549 and non-jurors' prayer books.

But there is another scheme of introits marked in MS, one in front of each collect in the Prayer Book given by Queen Anne to Montrose qualified chapel in 1701. It

is probable, although not certain, that they are of earlier date than those in the Peterhead sermons. The writer has been unable to discover the source from which they were taken. They are as follows :—

DAY.		PSALM	VERSE	
St. Stephen		xxxiv	19	
St. John		cxix	104	
Innocents		viii	1	
Circumcision		li	9	
Epiphany		ii	7	
Ash Wednesday		li	9	
Mon. before Easter		xl	7	
Tues. „ „		xxii	17	
Wed. „ „		li	16	
Thurs. „ „		xxvi	6	
	or	li	1	
Tues. in Easter week		cxix	15	
Ascension Day		lxviii	18	
Mon. in Whitsun week		„	19	
Tues. „ „		cxlv	10	
		civ	33	
St. Andrew		cx	2	
St. Thomas		ii	10	
Conversion of St. Paul		xix	7	
Presentation of Christ		li	7	
St. Matthias		v	5	middle part
Annunciation		ii	6	
St. Mark		xl	10	middle part
SS. Philip and James		ii	10	
St. Barnabas		cxlv	9	
St. John Baptist		xl	5	
St. Peter		xlvi	4	
St. James		xlv	10	
St. Bartholomew		cxix	116	
St. Matthew		„	35	
St. Michael		ciii	20	
	or	xxxiv	7	
St. Luke		xli	4	
SS. Simon and Jude		cxxxiii	1	
All Saints		l	5	
Gunpowder Treason		cxxiv	7	
Restoration		cxviii	27	

While a few of these are very appropriate, as for example those for St. Michael, St. Luke, SS. Simon and Jude and All Saints, together with those for Ash Wednesday, Holy Week and Ascension Day, the majority seem to have but little connexion with the days to which they are assigned; and some, including those for the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and for St. James, appear to be singularly unsuitable. The same may be said of the 1549 introit psalms, which seem to be the result of a somewhat hurried selection and only occasionally exhibit any special appropriateness for the occasions on which their use is directed. These 1549 introits were the ordinary "prose psalms' of what afterwards became known as the Prayer Book version. But it may be that metrical versions, or parts of them, were substituted in Scotland.

In a Prayer Book (London, T. Baskett, 1751) now in the possession of the rector of Lochlee there is the following rubric added in manuscript after the General Thanksgiving at the end of Morning Prayer:—

> "Rubric: On Sundays and Holy-days here rise up and give out part of a Psalm before the Communion Service. As the Prayer of St. Chrysostom and the Blessing were intended to conclude the Morning Service,[1] it is evidently improper to use them after the Thanksgiving, when we are immediately to begin another part of Divine Worship. For which reason the clergyman should give out part of a Psalm after the Thanksgiving, and then proceed to the Communion Office."

The copies of the Scottish Liturgy printed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries began with the

[1] An extraordinary misapprehension of the meaning of this prayer, which is intended to look forward to the Eucharist. In the Liturgy of St Chrysostom its place is near the beginning of the service.

Long Exhortation and did not include the earlier part of the service, the *missa catechumenorum* of ancient times. The late Dr. Dowden pointed out the difficulty of ascertaining the exact text of this earlier part of the rite in the eighteenth century. In his *Annotated Scottish Communion Office* he discussed the matter at length, and showed that the form in the English Prayer Book seems to have been generally followed, though not without some amount of variation.

An instance of such variation may be found in an Ordinal which belonged to John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, and is now in the Diocesan Library at Aberdeen. This book is an English Ordinal of the usual kind, printed at Oxford in 1787, and corrected in the bishop's hand-writing. After the rubric *Then shall be sung or said the Service for the Communion . . . . . as followeth*, and before *The collect* the bishop added in manuscript: "The Lord be with you. Our Father &c.," evidently indicating how the Communion Service was to be begun. The *Our Father* is clearly that at the beginning of the service and the prefixing of "The Lord be with you" to it seems to be on the analogy of the last part of Mattins and Evensong.

The "north end" position was always taken by the celebrant, and latterly came to be used throughout the service, but in earlier days the eastward position seems to have been taken at the *Sanctus*, i.e., for the actual consecration, as was the practice of the Caroline Divines in England in the seventeenth century.[1] In Bishop Torry's Prayer Book the rubric runs:

[1] *Fragmenta Liturgica* Vol. V. p. 278. The "North End" position was very explicitly insisted on in the Nonjurors' Liturgy of 1718, one of the preliminary rubrics running as follows :—

"¶ *The Altar, when the Holy Eucharist is to be Celebrated, shall have a fair white linen cloth upon it, and the Presbyter standing at the north-side thereof, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with the Collect following, the people kneeling.*"

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century it was customary to use the Ten Commandments and the collect for the King, in preference to the Summary of the Law and the collect for grace and strength, at any rate at the principal public service. Where the celebrant was unassisted[1] both Epistle and Gospel were usually read from a point just in front of the middle of the altar, from which also the Commandments were read, the priest of course facing the people. It is scarcely necessary to

¶*Note, that whenever in this Office the Priest is directed to turn to the Altar or to stand or kneel before it, or with his face towards it, it is always meant that he should stand or kneel on the North side thereof.*

That this did not mean "north part of west side" seems very clear from the entire absence of any tradition of the use of the eastward position during the earlier part of the service. A rubric at the beginning of Deacon's Liturgy speaks of the priest turning to the altar, "and standing humbly before it." For the same reason it is probable that this did not indicate the eastward position. Rattray merely speaks of the priest "standing at the altar."

It is very curious that with all their love for Catholic antiquity the non-jurors did not insist on the eastward position. Their rubrics evince great particularity about the priest and deacon turning to the people whenever anything was read to or addressed to them: this is in accordance with ancient practice; but not so the celebrating at the north end. There is, it may be added, some authority for saying the very beginning of the service near the north end, facing south, as in the Carthusian rite at the present day. At the same time there seems good reason to believe that the eastward position was used by the non-jurors for the actual consecration.

[1] Whenever a second clergyman was present, he always assisted the celebrant and read the epistle. The modern abuse of the priest celebrating unassisted when another clergyman is present who could help, was unheard of.

remark that the people always sat for the Epistle[1] and stood for the Gospel, saying, "Glory be to thee, O Lord" before and "Thanks be to thee, O Lord, for this thy glorious Gospel," after it.

Commenting on the last the late Bishop of Edinburgh wrote "So the Canons, Horsley and Torry. In ed. 1637 'Thanks be to thee, O Lord,' and so Nonjurors (1718) and Deacon (1734). The Canons of 1838 enjoined, those of 1863 and 1876 permit, the use of these words. . . . The addition 'for this thy glorious Gospel' seems to be wholly Scottish.[2]" Scudamore summarises various usages as to the response after the Gospel as follows: "No response followed the Gospel in the old English Liturgies. The Roman has 'Praise be to thee, O Christ;' the Mozarabic, 'Amen;' the Armenian and Malabar the same after as before; the Ethiopian, 'The Cherubim and Seraphim send Glory up to Him.' 'Amen' seems at one time to have been the common response in the West, for it is mentioned by Durandus, Beleth, and Alexander of Hales, the two latter telling us, however, that some preferred 'Thanks be to God.'"[3] A trace of this no doubt exists in the

[1] So too in the American Church in the early part of the nineteenth century. Dr. John H. Hobart, Bishop of New York wrote:—"The congregation, who are supposed to sit during the Epistle, as soon as the Gospel is announced, stand up, as being the attitude of praise, and bless God for the glad tidings of salvation, by pronouncing aloud, "Glory be to thee, O Lord." See *A Companion to the Book of Common Prayer, containing an explanation of the service.* By John Henry Hobart, D.D. 4th ed. New York; n. d. [1827], p. 34. There is a similar direction on p. 11 of *Familiar Instructions for the Public Worship of Almighty God agreeably to the services of the Protestant Episcopal Church.* 2nd Ed. New York, n.d.

[2] *Annotated Scottish Communion Office* pp. 192-3.

[3] *Notitia Eucharistica*, 2nd ed. 1876, p. 264.

response *Deo gratias* at the end of the Last Gospel in the Roman rite of the present day. The same response is often found in the Gospels included in books of hours. At Lincoln in 1548 the Royal Commissioners ordered that after the Gospel the deacon should say "Thanks be to God," and "God save the King."[1] John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, wished "Thanks be to God" to be ordered after the Gospel when the Prayer Book was being revised in 1661, and there has been a certain amount of English tradition for the use of it. It used to be, and still is, common in the north of England, and to some extent in other districts. A writer in *Notes and Queries*[2] in 1854 states that it had formerly been customary at South Stoke, near Arundel, for the clerk to respond "Thanks be to God for the Holy Ghost."

The creed seems to have been looked upon as essentially an act of praise, and it was thought unsuitable to make any gesture of reverence at the mention of the Incarnation. No such gesture, it may be noted, is made in the East, and its introduction in the West is only of mediaeval date.

In some churches—*e.g.* St. Andrew's Aberdeen, in Bishop William Skinner's time—those who did not intend to communicate were requested to withdraw. This was not from what would now be called "Protestant" motives, as might at first be supposed, but was a relic of the old discipline of the non-jurors, who would not allow the presence of any but the faithful. At Cruden the priest said "Morning service being now over those who do not wish to communicate may depart."

[1] *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Bradshaw and Wordsworth, ii, p. 594.

[2] ix., p. 566.

In an official letter to Dr. Suther, bishop of Aberdeen, in 1868, the late Dr. Grub stated that the withdrawal of non-communicants was then the immemorial usage of the Scottish church :—

"Your Lordship is aware of the immemorial usage of our Church in regard to what is called noncommunicating attendance. At every administration of the Holy Communion, all persons who had no right to communicate, and all communicants who did not intend to receive the Communion at that particular time, left the church at the end of the sermon. Any practice to the contrary was, I believe, almost entirely unknown till within the last twenty years : and the ancient usage still prevails in most of the congregations of our Church."[1]

In the book used at Kilmaveonaig in north-west Perthshire, which has already been mentioned, the following was added in manuscript at the end of the Exhortation :

> "If there be any present, who do not intend to receive the holy Communion, let them now depart. Doors locked."[2]

In Bishop Torry's Prayer Book the rubric runs thus :

> "¶ *Then shall follow the Sermon ; and when the Holy Eucharist is to be celebrated, the Minister shall dismiss the non-Communicants in these or like words*, Let those who are not to Communicate now depart."

[1] *Correspondence in regard to the Right of the Members of the Congregation of St. John the Evangelist's Church, Aberdeen, to retire when not communicating before the celebration of the Holy Communion*, p. 5. (Printed for private circulation.) The English Liturgy was then in use in St. John's Aberdeen.

[2] A writer in the *Scottish Guardian*, 1886, p. 404, states that the locking of the door was customary.

With respect to the use of the longer Exhortations, it may be well to quote a note in the handwriting of the late Dean Webster in a copy, preserved at New Pitsligo, of the 1863 edition of the Scottish Liturgy, in which both the larger Exhortations from the English Prayer Book were reprinted.

"Neither of these Exhortations appears in the attested Copy. Two reasons may be assigned for the omission. The exhortations contain no "Variations" from "the present Common Prayer Book of the Established Church of England" and hence it may have been thought unnecessary to specify them; or they were not considered to be an integral and constituent part of the Eucharistic Liturgy, and therefore were not collated. Previous to the year 1811 nearly every clergyman of the Scottish Church used an Exhortation peculiar in some respects to the Cure in which he served. After the Enactment of the Canons in that year, this unseemly diversity soon disappeared, and the *Two Exhortations* in the English Book of Common Prayer are now alone authorised in the Scottish Church."

At the words "To him, therefore:" at the end of the Exhortation, in the Kilmaveonaig book, a direction to turn to the Lord's Table was added.

In the Diocesan Library at Brechin there is a copy of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 in which the various parts of the liturgy are numbered so as to be said "in the natural order." This was a common practice in the early part of the eighteenth century and was the earliest stage in the making of the present Scottish liturgy. The long exhortation *Dearly beloved in the Lord* is here nnmbered so as to follow the consecration and precede *Ye that do truly* and the Confession.[1]

[1] The full scheme is as follows;—(1) Lift up your hearts (2) Consecration (3) Oblation (4) Lord's Prayer (5) Prayer for the Church (6) Long Exhortation (7) Invitation (8) Confession (9) Absolution (10) Comfortable Words (11) Prayer of Humble Access (12) Administration (13) Thankgiving (14) *Gloria* (15) Blessing.

§ 2 *The Offertory*

Directions among certain private devotions at the end of an edition of the Scottish Liturgy printed at Edinburgh in 1762[2] afford evidence that in some places at any rate the communicants drew near to the altar at the time of the offertory. These forms begin with a prayer "Before going to the Altar," which is followed in succession by forms for use "At going to the Altar," "At prostrating before the Altar," and "Whilst others are coming up, and the Priest preparing to read the sentences." That these are the offertory sentences is shown by the next prayer, which has reference to the poor widow's two mites, being headed "At the Offertory." This custom is not to be found anywhere in the north of Scotland and there is no tradition regarding it there, but it was by no means unknown in England, where however the people were wont to go forward to the chancel at the words "Draw near" in the bidding, *Ye that do truly*, &c.

While the alms were being collected, the offertory sentences were read; all, if the number of the congregation made it necessary; if only a selection was used, it generally included *In process of time*, *Give unto the Lord*, and *To do good*. With a few communicants these three alone were often read. If one only (it was unusual to use two only) was used, it was *Give unto the Lord* in many of the Buchan churches.

[2] *The Communion Office For the Use of the Church of Scotland as far as concerneth the Ministration of that Holy Sacrament Authorised by K. Charles I. Anno* 1636. *To which is added Private Devotions at the Administration of the Holy Communion.* Edinburgh: Printed for James Reid, Bookseller in Leith, 1762. This edition closely follows the 1724, '34, '43 type. Theological College Library, Edinburgh, c. 3. 1.

During the whole time of the offertory the majority of the congregations stood, but at Fyvie it was, and is, the practice to sit. This last is the universal Presbyterian custom during the collection. It also seems to have been observed in the Irish church.[1]

The alms were set upon the altar before the elements were offered, never afterwards.[2] They were held a few inches above the altar during the form *Blessed be thou*, and slightly raised for an instant at the words *of thine own do we give unto thee*, when they were set upon the altar, on the south side, and left there.[3] The alms dish was very commonly covered with a linen cloth, which sometimes took the form of a bag, lying in the alms dish or basin, a custom explained by the following rubric which appears in the non-jurors' liturgy of 1718:

> "¶ *Whilst these Sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Churchwardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the devotions of the people there present, in a decent basin provided for that purpose. And that no one may neglect to come to the Holy Communion, by reason*

[1] *Church Folklore*, Vaux, p. 68.

[2] On the abuse of offering the elements before the alms, which is contrary to the rubrics of both the Scottish and English rites, see Dr. Legg's paper *On Ancient Liturgical Customs*, quoted above, p. 3.

[3] In the Kilmaveonaig book:—

"At the end of the first rubric, '*Then the Presbyter or Deacon shall say*' &c. it is added, 'Deacon to offer, kneeling at prothesis.'

"Immediately before the offertory it is written, 'People to kneel': and in the last line of the first sentence, 'to' is inserted before 'his offering.'

"At the end of the rubric before 'Blessed be thou,' is added the word 'kneel,' and at the end of the first sentence, 'Let the Deacon remove the alms to the prothesis.'

These directions do not agree with the Aberdeenshire traditions, but they may represent Perthshire custom.

of having but little to give, the person who collects the Offerings shall cover the basin with a fair white linen cloth, so that neither he himself nor any other may see or know what any particular person offereth. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said basin with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the Altar."

The corresponding rubric in Deacon's liturgy is identical, as far as the direction for the linen cloth is concerned, and so is that in Rattray's liturgy of 1748.

Two of these covers are still preserved in the Diocesan Library at Brechin: they are circular bags about 9 in. across, open at one side to let in the plate, with a linen cover extending over about two thirds of the upper side, so as to conceal the money. The covers are embroidered with IHS in small plain letters. At Fraserburgh, cloths folded and pinned were placed upon the plates, and at Ellon there was a somewhat similar usage.

It would be very interesting to know if the non-jurors introduced this custom, or if they merely included in the rubric a usage already existing. If the latter, it is just possible that the linen cloth may have been a relic of a sudary used in the days long ago when the elements for the Eucharist were offered in kind by the faithful; but this is very doubtful. The practice was also followed by Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, the plate being wrapped in linen as it stood at the church door, a usage still kept up in some places. A linen cover for the stool at the door on which the plate stands is still used almost everywhere by Presbyterians on communion Sundays; at other times it may still be seen in some places, and also in one or two Roman Catholic churches.

The alms having been offered, and left on the south part of the altar, the priest went to the credence and removed the linen veil which covered the prepared elements, placing it on the altar so as to be ready for use after the communion. If the paten and chalice had not been filled before the service, he filled them here. He then took the bread and wine from the credence and solemnly offered them on the altar, both kinds together, making a slight elevation, but saying nothing.

The chalice and paten were set on the altar side by side, as in the Eastern rites, and not one in front of the other as in most Latin uses, including the Sarum rite and the present day Roman. But the more common practice, recently at any rate, was to place the paten on the right and the chalice on the left, which is the reverse of the Eastern usage. Such great care was taken by the older clergy of the north even in the smallest matters that it is surprising not to find the Eastern practice, which no doubt represents a very primitive tradition, strictly adhered to. The reason for the change may have been the desire to take the paten in the right hand and the chalice in the left at the elevation at the words *which we now offer unto thee* without the crossing of wrists practised at this point in the Eastern rites.

It has been shown that the elements have not always and everywhere been prepared at the same time or in the same way; this is also true of the act of offering them on the altar. In some rites the bread is offered first, separately, and then the wine, also separately; in others both are offered simultaneously or in quick succession. The Roman rite is among those in which the two kinds are offered separately; they are also offered separately at Milan; at Lyons the more common Gallican custom

of a simultaneous offering is still followed, and this is also the case with the Dominicans and Carthusians. York seems to have had a separate oblation of each kind, although not exactly in the same way as the Roman use; at Sarum they offered both kinds at once, and the Scottish custom is perhaps a continuance of the Sarum and Gallican tradition. It may be added that both kinds were offered together at Throndhjem, long the metropolitan church of our Scottish islands.

§ 3 *The Anaphora*

At Fyvie, in central Aberdeenshire, the people have always sat during the offertory, kneeling at *The Lord be with you* and standing at the *Sanctus*. But the more general practice seems to have been to stand during the offertory and to remain standing for the Preface or *Sanctus*, only kneeling for the consecration, if then. If they knelt for *The Lord be with you* they rose (as at Muchalls and Ellon) at the words *Therefore with angels and archangels*. Standing at the *Sanctus* seems to have been universal. It was also practised in the north and west of England.

As in England and Ireland, it was the universal custom for the people to join with the priest in repeating the words *Therefore with angels and archangels . . . and saying*, as well as the *Sanctus* itself. It has long been the fashion to regard this practice as a post-reformation development or rather corruption, peculiar to the Anglican rites. But it is very questionable if it be not much older. For one thing, its widespread adoption would tell against it being a mere corruption of late origin, and for another,

it is not, as so many have supposed, peculiar to these islands. The writer has been informed by Mr. Arthur Machen that he recently found it in France, at Genille in Touraine (Dept. Indre-et-Loire), and no doubt a search on the Continent would produce other instances.

At Fyvie, the people stood (and still stand) for the consecration. This is known to have been introduced by a former non-juring incumbent in imitation of Eastern practice. At Longside also the congregation used to stand: indeed there they remained standing from before the Gospel until *Ye that do truly*. They still stand from before the Gospel until after the *Sanctus* at Longside.

Hall quotes the manuscript additions in the Kilmaveonaig book as follows:—

> "Before the Sanctus is placed a direction to turn to the holy Table. To the rubric which follows the Sanctus is prefixed, (but in pencil and in another hand), "If there be a Deacon, he is to order the bread and wine, so that the Presbyter may, &c."
>
> "Before the Consecration is the word 'Kneel.'"
>
> "Before the Exhortation, 'Ye that do truly,' is inserted, 'Deacon to stand and say:' . . . and 'Kneel' prefixed to the rubric before the General Confession."
>
> "The word 'Kneeling' is prefixed to the *comfortable words*."

In the earlier part of the consecration during the words THIS IS MY BODY, and THIS IS MY BLOOD, the priest crossed his hands,[1] keeping them extended with the fingers joined and the palms downwards, the left hand

[1] For the plural *hands*, see Deacon's Liturgy, p. 93.

being uppermost, and so laid them upon the bread and upon the chalice respectively—if there were more than one chalice, he laid his hands in this way upon each in succession.

At the words DO THIS, a very slight elevation of each kind was made, and at the words WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE, a considerable elevation, but not higher than the breast of the celebrant, and both kinds were offered simultaneously, the paten in the right hand, the chalice in the left hand of the priest. This elevation at the oblation is of great liturgical interest, for it closely agrees with the practice of the Russian Church. Dr. Dowden notes that "the word *eleva*, inserted at this point in the margin of a copy of the edition of 1764, said to have belonged to, and been used by, John Alexander, Bishop of Dunkeld (1743-1776), probably points to a common usage." This conjecture is entirely borne out by the traditional practice of some of the northern churches.

In the Russian liturgy after the words "In all and for all, we offer unto Thee Thine own of Thine own" there is the rubric :—

> "While this is saying the Deacon lays down the Fan, and crossing his arms, lifts up the Holy Dish in one hand and the Cup in the other, bowing reverently and devoutly."

When carrying out this ceremony, the deacon, in some churches, makes the sign of the cross over the holy table with the chalice and paten while he elevates them, but this making of the sign of the cross is not universal in Russia. There is no rubric at this point in the Greek Euchologion, but the deacon takes the

holy vessels with his hands crossed[1] and makes the sign of the cross with them, raising them only very slightly. The paten is on the left, the chalice on the right of the centre of the holy table during the liturgy in the Orthodox Eastern Church, and so the crossing of the arms is necessary to enable the deacon to raise the paten with his right and the chalice with his left hand. In the absence of a deacon the priest makes this elevation himself. There seems little reason to doubt that the old Scottish custom is a slightly simplified form of the above, introduced from the East by the non-juring liturgiologists of the eighteenth century.

In Bishop Alexander's book *effunde* is written in the margin at the words "which was shed for you and for many," indicating that the mixture had been made in the flagon and was then to be poured into the chalice. This curious ceremony seems to be without other than post-Reformation precedent at the actual time of consecration.

At the words *ble✠ss and sanc✠tify, with thy wo✠rd and Holy Spi✠rit* the sign of the cross was made as here indicated, and some also made it at the words *become the bo✠dy and blo✠od of thy most dearly beloved Son*, after which in certain churches the priest made a slight inclination.

[1] This crossing of hands also takes place in the Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites, when after the elevation of first the paten and then the chalice at *sancta sanctis*, the priest holds them both up, the paten in his right hand, the chalice in his left, crosswise over the holy table. The same is done at the end of the service of the prothesis in the same rite, and at the offertory in the Nestorian. See F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1876, p.p. 73, 101, and 267.

With regard to these crossings, it is interesting to note the directions of the three non-jurors' liturgies. The signing is indicated in the book of 1718 at the words BO✠DY and BLO✠OD in the words of our Lord, but not in the invocation. In Deacon's book of 1734 the crossing is at the same words where they occur in the invocation, but not in the recital of institution. In Rattray's liturgy of 1748 the crossing is to be made at both these words in both places. From this we may gather that some of the Scottish clergy preserved the tradition of Deacon and Rattray, but that others who made the sign of the cross added two other crossings not prescribed by these non-juring books viz: at the words "ble✠ss and sanct✠ify." In the copy of the Scottish Liturgy, (1764) which has the manuscript additions of Bishop Alexander of Dunkeld, crosses are added at the words BO✠DY and BLO✠OD in the invocation.

The priest did not turn to the people at the words *As our Saviour Christ hath commanded* . . . before the Lord's Prayer, but he did so at all biddings or addresses to the people except that before the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, when he half turned, always with the sun. After the Lord's Prayer it was the custom of some priests to say privately, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."

§ 4 *The Communion*

At *Ye that do truly* the congregation at Ellon used to stand, kneeling again for the confession. During the Absolution the priest raised his right hand extended at the words *Have mercy*, keeping it so raised to the end, and making the sign of the cross at the words *pardon an✠d deliver.*

In at least one church, viz., Lochlee in the highlands of Forfarshire, the following responses to the Comfortable Words were said until within living memory :—

[*Come unto me, &c.*]

"Refresh, O Lord, thy servant, wearied with the burden of sin."

[*God so loved the world, &c.*]

"Lord, I believe in thy Son Jesus Christ—O let this faith purify me from all inquity."

[*This is a faithful saying, &c.*]

"I embrace with thankfulness that salvation, which Jesus Christ has brought into the world."

[*If any man sin, &c.*]

"Intercede for me, O blessed Jesus, that my sins may be pardoned, through the powerful merits of thy propitiating death."

These responses, printed in very small italics, follow the Comfortable Words, exactly in the manner here shown, in an edition of the Scottish Liturgy printed at Edinburgh in 1781.[1] They are also to be found in *A Layman's Account of His Faith and Practice, as a Member of the Episcopal Church in Scotland: published with the approbation of the Bishops of that Church.* To which are added some forms of Prayer, from the most approved Manuals, for assisting the Devotion of private Christians on various occasions. The Second Edition.

[1] *The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the Ministration of that Holy Sacrament. With private devotions.* Edinburgh 1781. Theol. Col. Libr., Edinburgh, c. 6. 1. (Follows the 1764 type exactly.) The text differs from that given above, as follows. The second response reads *and* instead of *O*, the third adds *all* before *thankfulness* and omits *Christ*. The fourth reads "Intercede for me, O blessed Jesu ! that my sins may be pardoned through the merits of thy death."

With an appendix, containing the code of Canons of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Aberdeen: D. Chalmers & Co. 1813, p. 145, where they are introduced by the following words:—

> "When these portions of scripture are read, that follow the absolution, and are designed to beget in us a lively faith, and trust in God's mercy, we may use some short ejaculations after them, in the following manner: viz.—"

Then follow the responses as given above.[1] The book *A Layman's Account* was passed through the press by the Skinners, although it seems to have been actually written by Niven of Thornton. Letters exist from William Skinner, when an undergraduate at Oxford, in which he refers to it as "our book."

Such responses are not uncommon in the English devotional manuals of the 18th century and this set of

[1] The section of the book which includes these is entitled "Private Devotions at the Holy Communion, adapted to the public office in the Liturgy." Like the old editions of the Scottish Liturgy it begins with the *Missa Fidelium*, thus:—"When the sermon is ended, we shall endeavour to compose ourselves for the devout celebration of the Christian Sacrifice and while the minister is preparing for the Holy table we should be preparing our minds for the humble participation of the holy mysteries, and when he is going to the altar, we may say in his behalf:—

"The Lord hear thee! The name of the God of Jacob defend thee! Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Sion! Remember all thy offerings and accept thy burnt sacrifice!"

It is curious coincidence that the same words with but slight variation are appointed in the corresponding place of the York rite to be said as the response to *Orate Fratres*. It is probable that they found their way into *A Layman's Account* from the 2nd part of Deacon's Devotions, 1734, p. 316, where they are appointed to be said "by any other but the officiating Priest" "Before the Eucharistick Service," or possibly from an earlier book *Private Devotions Before, At, and After the Christian Sacrifice, Collected from the Holy Scriptures and the Ancient Liturgies of the Catholic Church: and Recommended to the Orthodox Laity.* By a Primitive Catholic. Printed for

them, introduced by the same words, is to be found in *A Short Office for the Holy Communion; Consisting of prayers, meditations and thanksgivings, before, at, and after the Blessed Sacrament. Collected from Abp. Tillotson, Bp. Fleetwood, and other eminent divines.* London, printed for B. Dod, Bookseller to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [n.d., but c. 1756]. The text is the same with one exception as that in the 1781 edition of the Scottish liturgy already referred to. These responses, like other forms in devotional manuals, seem to have been generally intended for private use, and in the *Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice*, by Robert Nelson, London, 1706 [many subsequent editions] the writer states that "They are generally read with so great a Pause between them that the Communicants may have leisure to make some short reflections upon them, which may be done in the following manner."[1] The Lochlee tradition is no doubt the relic of attempts to introduce them into the service.

An edition of the Scottish Liturgy was printed at Edinburgh in 1796 by Dr. Abernethy Drummond the Bishop of that see, in which similar responses are provided for by rubric, thus :—

J. Smith in Cornhill, 1720. A copy is in the writer's possession bound up with one of the small edition of the non-jurors' Liturgy of 1718.

[1] Then follows a set of very long responses. In the same book, pp. 114 and 115, the people are bidden to stand at *Ye that do truly etc.*, and the writer says that "It is in some Places the Custom to pronounce an *Amen* in a low tone, after every Sentence of the Absolution."

Another set of responses to the Comfortable Words is to be found in an early 19th century American devotional book, entitled, *A Companion for the Altar; or a Week's Preparation for the Holy Communion. Consisting of a short explanation of the Lord's Supper, and meditations and prayers, proper to be used before, and during, the receiving of the Holy Communion.*

"Come unto me . . . . .

"*After this and the other sentences, the Clergyman shall pause so long that the people may have time to offer up the annexed ejaculations.*

"In obedience to Thy call, O dearest Lord I, an unworthy and polluted creature, come. O, by that unutterable love which moved Thee to undergo such grievous suffering for man's sake, be graciously pleased to speak peace to my soul, and say, 'Thy sins are forgiven.'

"For God so loved the world . . . . .

"O blessed Jesus, I believe Thee to be the eternal Son of God, and Saviour of the world. Grant that by the continual exhibition of thy healing stripes and wounds and precious blood shedding, the God of compassion and mercy may be moved in wrath to remember mercy and

According to the form prescribed by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By John Henry Hobart, D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York. 3rd. ed., New-York, 1816, pp. 223-4. [Brechin Diocesan Library, U. iii. 7.]

The responses are as follows. They do not seem to have been intended for use aloud.

[*After each of the following sentences use the short ejaculations annexed.*]

Come unto me

[Make me, O Jesus, truly sensible of my guilt and unworthiness; that, oppressed with the burthen of my sins, I may go to thee for rest and deliverance.]

So God loved

[O Lord, I believe—increase and establish my faith; that, ever loving and serving thee, I may finally, through thy mercy, be made partaker of everlasting glory.]

This is a true saying

[I bless thee, O Jesus, who, moved by infinite compassion, didst come into the world to save sinners.]

If any man sin

[O blessed Jesus, by thy blood and merits, by thy powerful intercession, procure my pardon and deliverance from the guilt and condemnation of sin.]

Like the other sets of responses to the Comfortable Words, these are clearly traceable to English 18th century sources.

to admit me, by holy Sacrament to a participation of all those benefits and blessings which Thou hast procured for mankind.

"This is a faithful saying . . . . .

"Adored be Thy holy name, O gracious God, who sent Thy blessed Son to die that men might live. O grant, that by a pure faith, and universal obedience to Thy holy will, I may obtain that salvation which he purchased for the world and not die eternally. Amen.

"If any man sin . . . . .

"Blessed God, who has provided a remedy when our spiritual enemies prevail against us: grant me that true repentance which is not to be repented of: that so these sins for which my Saviour did so dearly atone, may be pardoned through His death and passion. Amen."

These responses appear to have been merely intended for private use like other devotional forms printed in small type in this edition of the Scottish Liturgy.[1]

In a copy of the Scottish Liturgy formerly in the possession of Kirriemuir church but now unfortunately

In this book the communicant is directed to say *Amen* secretly to the words of administration after *everlasting life*, and to receive in the right hand, without gloves, and preferably with hands crossed (pp. 234-5). This direction to say *Amen* is not infrequent in English devotional manuals of the previous century.

The same author, Dr. John H. Hobart, also published an adaptation for American use of *A Layman's Account of his faith and practice* under the title of *The Churchman's Profession of his Faith and Practice, as a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*. New York: [n.d.]. On the *verso* at the title page is the following: "This Tract is altered, and, with some additions, adapted to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, from a Tract exhibiting the Faith and Practice of a Member of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, published with the approbation of the Bishops of that Church. John Henry Hobart. New-York, May, 1821."

[1] See Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. v. pp. 244, 245.

lost, the words "Holy things to holy persons" were added in the margin.

The celebrant always seems to have knelt when receiving Communion himself. This, although contrary to the well-nigh universal tradition of standing, seems to have been the practice of all the non-jurors, and was no doubt a relic of the contest against the puritan objections to kneeling in the seventeenth century.

Each railful of communicants waited in a body and left the rails together. Women used to bring a clean handkerchief and spread it over the left hand, placing the right hand extended upon it when receiving. All received with the hands extended and crossed, the right hand being uppermost. At Old Meldrum, Ellon and Turriff forty years ago, old women used to bring a clean white handkerchief for Communion, with a scrap of southernwood or costmary to smell instead of snuff. This use of a piece of scented herb was at one time common all over Scotland and was also practised by Presbyterians.

The seventh of the post-communion rubrics in Bishop Torry's Prayer Book is as follows :—

> "¶ *It is customary for the Communicants in this Church, to receive the Sacrament of our Lord's Body upon the palm of the right hand, crossed over the left, and thus reverently raise It to the mouth, so as not to let the smallest Particle fall to the ground.*"

Whether introduced by the non-jurors, or a survival from ancient times, the use of a linen cloth about the hands by women when communicating is a custom of very great antiquity. St. Caesarius of Arles in a sermon says, "All men wash their hands when about to go to the altar and all women display clean linen cloths on which they receive the Body of Christ." The Council

of Auxerre in A.D. 578 forbade women to receive the Eucharist with uncovered hand, and ordered each woman to bring her *Dominicale* (evidently this linen cloth) with her when about to communicate. It will be noticed that in the Scottish custom, although the left hand was covered the right hand was not. It is not easy, with so little evidence at hand, to form an opinion whether this usage was an attempt by the non-jurors to revive the primitive custom alluded to by St. Caesarius and the Council of Auxerre, or a relic of the mediaeval houselling cloth. The receiving with hands extended and crossed certainly seems to be a revival by the non-jurors.[1]

The writer has also heard of at least one case where an aged female communicant used a clean handkerchief to hold the chalice when the priest delivered it into her hands. This was at Brechin, but the practice does not seem to have been common.

When a whole railful had received Communion, the priest turned towards them and said a form of blessing; in some places, *e.g.*, Muchalls, he uplifted the chalice over them with his right hand, saying:

> "Arise, go in peace, and may the God of peace be with you henceforth and for evermore."

Other similar forms were used, and they sometimes varied with the individual priest.

"At Longside, in the days of Mr. Cumine, after each railful of communicants had partaken, the custom was for the clergyman to say, 'Arise in peace from the Table of

[1] See Reichel, *Complete Manual of Canon Law*, p. 129; Francis de Berlendis, *De Oblationibus ad Altare*, Venice, 1743 p. 139. Edmund Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Venice, 1783, Lib. I, cap. 4 art. X, § VIII.

the Lord, and may the God of all Peace be for ever with you.' The doxology was then sung, prefaced by the words, 'Let us express our thanks and praise to Almighty God by singing the Doxology of the Church.

"When all had communicated a hymn was sung."[1]

At Ellon, in east Aberdeenshire, the Rev. Nathaniel Grieve used to set the chalice on the altar, turn round and descend from the first step; then spreading out both hands over the kneeling railful of communicants he said:

> "Arise (or 'Depart') in peace and may the God of peace go with you."

This is still said at Ellon. At Peterhead the form used was:

> "Go from the table of the Lord in peace and the God of love and peace be with you."

Bishop Torry of Dunkeld and St. Andrews used the form:

> "Arise in peace from the table of the Lord, and the God of peace be with you."

Nothing is said about this in his Prayer Book.

At Ballachulish some such form as the following was used:—

> "Arise ye now from the table of the Lord and may the blessing of God Almighty the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost be with you and remain with you always. Amen."

A longer form was sometimes used, as at Folla Rule, no doubt without the uplifting of the chalice, respecting

[1] From a note signed "S." in the *Buchan Churchman*, vol. i., p. 37.

which the late Bishop of Edinburgh[1] quotes from a private letter of the late Very Rev. W. Webster[2] as follows:

> "The dismissal of each railful of communicants was, I believe, general in this Diocese [Aberdeen], at least; it was practiced also in Brechin and Moray, but less generally. The formula varied considerably; there was no fixed form, everyone had his own, but all were to the following effect:—'Depart—or go—in peace and the God of love and peace with you. While others are communicating let your hearts and minds be occupied in thankful meditation on the great blessings of which you have now been partakers, and on the solemn responsibilities which these blessings lay upon you. After you have joined in singing the first (or next) verse of the Communion Hymn.' The Hymn was that which is given in the S. Andrew's (Aberdeen) Collection."

The form used by Dr. William Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen was as follows:

> "Now may the body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for you, and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for you preserve your bodies and souls, spotless and blameless, unto everlasting life, and present you with joy and rejoicing at the judgment of the great day. Go in peace, and may the God of all love and peace be for ever with you. Let your hearts and minds be occupied in meditating upon the inestimable privileges of which you have now been the happy partakers, after you have expressed your grateful sense of them by joining in a verse of the Communion Hymn."[3]

The late Bishop of Edinburgh gave the writer the

[1] *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 327.

[2] Incumbent of New Pitsligo, and Dean of Aberdeen.

[3] Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. X, p. lxvii.

following form, which was sent to him by a Mrs. Erskine, doubtless the well known daughter of Bishop Walker of Edinburgh (the first Pantonian Professor):

> "God almighty bless you with his holy spirit, guard you by his presence and his providence, guide you in your going out and coming in, keep you in his faith and fear, free from sin and safe from danger."

This dismissal of the communicants with a blessing immediately after the reception of the holy Eucharist seems rather to be traced to an attempt to adapt Eastern practice than to a survival of any mediæval usage. At first sight the blessing with the uplifted chalice is almost suggestive of the very late mediæval practice of giving benediction with the reserved Sacrament immediately after mass, or perhaps of the common mediæval custom of giving the blessing at the end of mass with the empty paten or chalice.[1] But even making the most liberal allowance for possible survivals in out-of-the-way places, it is most unlikely that any remnant of such a ceremony could have lived on through the seventeenth century.

It is more likely that this dismissal was introduced by the non-jurors from the Eastern rites by a rather clumsy process of adaptation. The Eastern ceremonial is as follows:—

When Communion is given in the Liturgies of SS.

[1] So at Coutances 1557 (*Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, p. 67), at Paris in 14th and 15th centuries, and at Bourges in MS of 1446; with paten alone at Paris, 1481 to 1615 (Le Brun, *Explicatio Missae*, Venetiis, 1770, vol. i p. 331) also in *L'Exposition de la Messe*, Alcuin Club Collection, ii, plate 17, and in *Dat Boexken van der Missen*, Alcuin Club Collection v, p. 139; with chalice alone at Hereford on principal and double feasts (*Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874, p. xlvii).

Basil and John Chrysostom the priest advances to the doors of the eikonostasis and communicates the faithful from a spoon with which he administers both kinds at once, from the chalice which he holds in his left hand. The communicant stands before the priest, and the deacon, standing on the priest's right, holds one end of the καλύμμα, or purificator, beneath the communicant's chin and wipes his lips with the other end, after he has received. When all have communicated, the priest, still holding the chalice with the sacred species in it, blesses the people before he returns to the holy table. In the Armenian rite as given by Mr. Brightman,[1] the rubric directs the priest to make the sign of the cross over the people with the sacred gifts. A few minutes later, in the Liturgies of SS. Basil and John Chrysostom the priest with the chalice in his hands again turns towards the people saying a kind of blessing, when he is about to take it to the table of the prothesis for the ablutions. The Scottish custom is possibly an adaptation of this Eastern dismissal of the communicants, although the words used have no connection. The Scottish words of dismissal bear some resemblance to the opening words of the long form beginning "Depart in peace, brethren and beloved, whilst we commend you to the grace and mercy of the holy and glorious Trinity" at the end of the Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites.[2] But this seems a mere coincidence. While it is not impossible that this may have been known to some of the non-jurors through the edition printed by Renaudot,[3] it is far more probable

[1] *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, ed. F. E. Brightman, Oxford, 1896, p. 453.

[2] Ibid, p. 106.

[3] *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Parisiis, 1716.

that the words came from seventeenth century puritan sources, as similar forms survived among Presbyterians.

A verse of a hymn was sung while the railfuls of communicants changed places. This appears to be a survival in a modified form of a usage taken from the Presbyterians in Pre-Revolution days.[1] The late Bishop of Edinburgh quotes the Supplementary Act of Assembly (1645) which enjoins "That while the Tables are dissolving and filling, there be always singing of some portion of the psalm, according to the custom."[2] Dr. Sprott refers to Wither's Poems as testifying to a like usage in the Church of England in 1621.[3]

In an edition of the Scottish Liturgy printed by Chalmers at Aberdeen in 1786 the hymn beginning, "Bless'd is the man" is printed at length preceded by the rubric *A Hymn to be sung during the time of and after the Communion*, and followed by verses x to xv preceded by the rubric *The following verses may be sung as part of the Post-Communion Service.*

At Lochlee some verses of the 103rd psalm were used, and sung to a tune called "Bethlehem." At Cruden the communicants at the rail sang the verse before rising and going back to their seats.

[1] But Deacon and Rattray both provide psalms to be sung during the Communion:

Deacon:—

Whilst the Faithful are communicating, the following Psalms one or more of them, may be sung or said in this order: the 34th, the 45th, the 133rd, the 145th.

Rattray:—

Whilst the Faithful are communicating, Psalm XXXIV and CXLV may be sung.

[2] *Annotated Scot. Com. Office*, p. 328.

[3] *Worship & Offices*, p. 135.

At the bidding *Having now received*, etc.[1] which follows the Communion, the priest turned towards the people, and in many churches *e.g.*, Muchalls, Ellon, Pitsligo, the people stood up; in some, *e.g.*, Longside, Folla Rule, they remained (and still remain) standing through the prayer of thanksgiving. Everywhere they stood for the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and knelt for the final blessing. The priest turned towards the people for the whole of the blessing, and some made the sign of the cross over them at the mention of the Holy Trinity. At Ellon the ablutions were taken in the vestry afterwards.[2]

§ 5 *The posture of the people.*

Allusion has been made to the posture of the congregation at various parts of the service and to customs such as sitting for the Epistle, and standing for the *Sanctus*, the consecration or the *Gloria in excelsis*. While these customs varied to an extent locally, the general principle was the same, namely to signify and emphasise the priesthood of the laity, and the fact that the eucharist is the offering not of the priest alone or even of the sacred ministers, but of the whole family of God. This aspect of eucharistic worship, which we find throughout the whole Church in ancient times, and in the

[1] In the Kilmaveonaig book "To the rubric 'When all have communicated,' the word 'Deacon is prefixed and 'standing' added. Before the Post-Communion Collect kneeling' is placed; and before the Gloria in Excelsis 'standing' . . . . . 'kneeling' is prefixed to the Blessing." (Hall, *Fragmenta*, p. 279). From this one gathers that the Deacon at Kilmaveonaig covered that which remained of the Holy Eucharist with the corporas and said the bidding *Having now received*.

[2] On the history of the ablutions see Dom F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne*, fasc. 1, p. 106.

East at the present day, became largely obscured in Western Christendom as Latin grew increasingly obsolete and unintelligible, and the people became less and less able to follow the service. Hence there arose such customs as kneeling during the Epistle—recently introduced by the thoughtless among ourselves, who have also taken to kneeling through the *Gloria in excelsis.*[1] In 1863 the late Dr. Pratt, incumbent of Cruden, embodied what seem to have the customs in these matters at Cruden and Peterhead and included them in a little book of instructions for young communicants,[2] which was often bound up with some editions of the Scottish Liturgy. This rationale of postures is as follows :—

"RATIONALE, ETC."

"In the services of the Sanctuary there are parts where the people should *stand*; others where they should *kneel*; and others where they may *sit*.

"1. They should stand at Exhortations and Addresses by the Minister as the Messenger of Christ to His people; at the Direct Profession of the Faith; at every Hymn, Psalm, or Anthem of *Praise*, generally ordered by the Rubric to be sung or said; and at the reading of the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments when they occur in the Lessons for the Day; and at the reading of the Gospel for the Day.

"2. They should kneel at all Prayers, Collects, and Supplications to God, even at *Supplications* which may be sung; at all Offerings solemniy made or dedicated to God; at all formal Confessions to God; and at the reception of all holy gifts from God—Absolution, and the Sacred Elements.

[1] The writer has even seen this extended to the Gospel!

[2] *Short Instructions for Young Communicants; and a Rationale of Postures in Divine Service: with especial reference to the Communion Office for the use of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.* Aberdeen: John Wilson, Castle Street. 1863.

"3. They may sit at the time of hearing and receiving Instruction, whether from the Inspired Word, or from Sermons and Lectures by the Minister.

"If we apply these general rules as 'Directions for the People' in the Communion Service—they should *kneel* at the Lord's Prayer, Collect, Supplications after the Commandments Collects for the Queen, and for the Day; they should *sit* while instructed by the Epistle; *stand* during the reading of the Gospel, and at the Short Ascriptions of Praise before and after it, and at the Confession of the Faith in the Nicene Creed; they should *sit* while receiving instruction from the Sermon.

"They should *stand* during the Exhortion; and *kneel* when presenting their offerings, and also when the Priest humbly presents them before the Lord.[1] They should *stand* at the words, 'Lift up your hearts, &c.,' and at the Proper Preface, and at the Doxology, 'Therefore with Angels, &c.' The whole of this Doxology, and not the latter part only, is an act of high praise, and therefore, whether sung or said, the people should *join* in it from the beginning. At the Prayer of Consecration, when the transcendent Mystery of the Faith is shewn forth, and the great commemorative offering made, and in which the People, by saying *Amen*, are understood to take their part —they with the Priest and the Priest with them[2]—*kneeling* is the proper posture, as it is also at the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, and at the Lord's Prayer which follows.

"At the Address, 'Ye that do truly,' etc., the people should *stand;* while they should *kneel* at the Confession and Absolution, and at the receiving of the joyful tidings in the Comfortable Words; at the Collect of Humble Access; and at the Reception of the Sacred Elements.

"They should *stand* at the Address, 'Having now,' &c.;

[1] This is the only direction in this "Rationale" which seems to be an innovation of its author and not supported by tradition.

[2] See 1 Pet. ii. 9., Rom. xii. 1.

kneel at the Collect of Thanksgiving; *stand*, and also *join*, in the 'Gloria in Excelsis; and *kneel* at the Reception of the Blessing."

*** *In the Morning and Evening Services, this* Rationale of Posture *is universally recognised and observed.*

On Sunday morning when the Eucharist was not celebrated, after the Litany, the priest went to the altar and read the first part of the Communion service, generally out of the English Prayer Book, although at Ellon the Rev. Nathaniel Grieve used to say *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church* without the unfortunate addition *militant here in earth.*[1]

[1] This form of service has been subjected to an unnecessary amount of abuse by those who ought to have known better. It has been called an invention of Protestant reformers and has been nick-named "Table Prayers." During the last 300 years it has certainly been used in a way that was never contemplated by the Church, namely as a substitute for the Eucharist when there was no possible reason against a celebration. But the abuse of a thing does not take away its lawful use, and it has recently been proved beyond all doubt that "Table Prayers" are a service of high antiquity, spread throughout the Church (much the same as the use of incense, for example) and used when for some legitimate reason the Eucharist cannot be celebrated. Under the name of *Typica* it is used throughout the East; the Carthusians called it *nudum officium* and used it till very recently. It was used generally in the West in the middle ages, and is still used throughout the diocese of Milan in the Ambrosian rite (serving over a million souls) on Good Friday, where there is not only no consecration, but no public or general communion with the reserved Sacrament. Thus on Good Friday the liturgy at Milan is very like the liturgy as used by us. It is a grave question whether the Holy Eucharist ought to be celebrated on all week days in Lent: there is a very large amount of teaching in the Church to the effect that the consecration of the Eucharist, being the supreme act of thanksgiving, is unsuited to seasons of penitence. Thus in the East the *Typica* is used in all week days except Saturdays in Lent, on the Wednesday and Friday of the week before Lent and on Good Friday and when two services

In some places, however, as at St. Andrew's Aberdeen, the Summary of the Law was used instead of the Ten Commandments, and the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church from the Scottish Liturgy was said instead of its English counterpart. It was also a common custom in the north during the octaves of the great festivals, to add the *Sursum corda* with the proper preface and the *Sanctus*, on these occasions, to this service of the *Typica*, as it is called in the East.

are required and there is only one priest or only one altar. For a full discussion of the question, see *Three Chapters in Recent Liturgical Research*, Church Historical Society, no. lxxiii, London, S.P.C.K., 1903, price 1s. Among ourselves priests duplicate in a most reckless way, unknown to the rest of the Church. There are many cases where "Table Prayers" ought unquestionably to be added to Mattins and Litany, when for some good reason the Eucharist cannot be celebrated; for example in many places where a single-handed priest has already celebrated at an early hour.

CHAPTER V

Reservation of the Eucharist

In accordance with a long standing usage, the sick and infirm are still communicated with the Reserved Sacrament—always in both kinds. This has certainly been done since the early part of the eighteenth century, and there is a persistent tradition in the remoter parts of the north of Scotland to the effect that it has been continuous from still earlier days. In more recent times it has existed as one of the old traditional customs which belong to the Scottish liturgy, but it was looked upon by a previous generation as antecedent to any form of that rite as now used.

From the Reformation until after 1718, there is no explicit evidence for reservation in Scotland; indeed the direction of the modern English Prayer Book that what remains of the Holy Eucharist shall not be carried out of the church, first appears in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. On the other hand there seems to be nothing said against the practice in all the controversial writings of that period—at least by the Church party. The struggle was not between clinical celebrations and clinical communion with the reserved elements, but between clinical communion and denying the Eucharist to the sick. This was a subject of fierce controversy during the reign of James VI (I of England) and the Sacrament was restored to the sick by one of the famous Five

Articles of Perth in 1618.[1] During the next few years we have record of sick communions, but nothing is said whether reservation was used.[2] About the time of the Perth Assembly, steps were being taken towards the provision of a Scottish Prayer Book. Later on, a draft

[1] "The "Five Articles of Perth" were agreed upon by a General Assembly held there in 1618. They provided for (1) kneeling at Communion (2) Baptism in private when necessary (3) Communion of the Sick (4) Confirmation (5) Keeping of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday. The third ran as follows:

"If any good Christian visited with long sicknesse and knowne to the Pastor, by reason of his present infirmity vnable to resort to the Church for receiving of the holy Communion, or being sick, shall declare to the Pastor vpon his conscience, that he thinks his sicknes to be deadly, and shall earnestly desire to receiue the same in his house: The Minister shall not deny to him so great a comfort, lawfull warning being giuen to him upon the night before, and that there be three or foure of good Religion and conuersation, free of lawful impediments, present with the sicke person to communicate with him, who must also prouide a conuenient place in his house, and all things necesary for the reuerend administration thereof, according to the order prescribed in the Church."

The "order" was the Communion service and administration in Knox's Book of Common Order.

Dr. David Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin, speaking of private communion in reference to this enactment, says:—

"Our owne Church hath practised the same (i.e. private communion) in former times, as was qualified in diuers particulars at the last Assembly. So where the reformed Churches haue approved it, and wee ourselves by our owne practice, now to stand against it, when, by a speciall Canon, it is appointed to bee done, cannot but bee thought obstinate disobedience."

A true Narration of all the passages of the proceedings in the generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, holden at Perth the 25 of August. Anno Dom. 1618 . . . . . with a just defence of the articles therein concluded, against a seditious Pamphlet. By Dr. Lyndesay, Bp. of Brechin, London, 1621, pp. 32, pt. ii. 107 *et sq.*

[2] That private Communion was practised in the 17th century, especially in the North, there is good evidence, e.g.

In the Session Records of S. Nicholas, Aberdeen, occur the following:

25 July 1630 Sibbaldo moderatore

. . . . . .

Receaved be the Collector threttie fyve shillinges of Collection at Alexr. Hilles wyff her commonion

book was sent to London by the Scottish bishops,[1] but was practically rejected through the influence of Laud, who with Wren and other English divines and the Scottish bishops Maxwell and Wedderburn, ended in substituting the far-famed and ill-fated Prayer Book of 1637, which contains a service for a clinical celebration exactly like that in the English Book of 1559, as well as a rubric at the end of the Liturgy forbidding what remains of the consecrated elements to be taken out of

27 November 1631 Sibbaldo moderatore

. . . . . .

The Sessioun appointes this day aucht dayes the holy communion to be celebrat and for that effect ordainnes the ministeris To Intimat the samen to the people out of the pulpettis of both the kirkis.

. . . . . .

xj decembris 1631 Sibbaldo moderatore

Collectit to the poore at the auld kirk dore be Archibald Beanes upon thirsday efter sonday being wponn the fourt of december ten pundis and be Alexander Patersoun at the new kirk dore wponn sonday and twysday thaireeftir six pundes xij shillings six penneis

Collectit at the priuat communion ministered to Marioun Beanes aught punds

. . . . . .

Vigesimo tertio die mensis decembris 1632 magistro Alexandro Ross moderatore

. . . . . .

Collectit siklyk to the poore at the ministration of the holie communion on sonday the sixteene day of December. . . . . .

Item gevin be Alexander Stewart at the ministration of the communion to him in his house be occasion of his sicknes the soume of Ten poundes aughtene shillinges on the sixtene day of December. . . . .

Tertio Novembris 1633 Doctore Forbesio moderatore

Collectit to the poore

. . . . . .

Item nyne shillinges gewin by John Touche at the receaving of the sacrament of the Lordes Supper

[1] See *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.* "*The Booke of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments with other rites and ceremonies of the church of Scotland as it was sette doune at first, before the change thereof made by ye archb. of canterburie, and sent back to Scotland.*" Edited with an introduction and notes by the Rev. G. W. Sprott, Edinburgh 1871.

the church.[1] The curious thing is that the draft book of 1629 which did not contain this prohibition was Puritan to a degree, and the 1637 Prayer Book in which it first appears was the very reverse. Perhaps the explanation is that the use of reservation for the sick was looked upon as part of the administration of the sacrament to the faithful which had already taken place in the service. Certainly Laud, Maxwell and Wedderburn drew up the new rubric to prevent the scandalous misuse of the holy gifts which was common among the puritanical clergy. Probably no one thought about

[1] Dr. Sprott called it "the fourth or fifth draft" adding "There was that of the original Committee in 1617; that approved by King James a year or two later, and sent up to Charles in 1629; the book referred to as signed by the King, Sep. 28, 1634, the draft taken to London by Maxwell, and approved with corrections May 1634, partly printed towards the end of that year but then destroyed; and lastly that of Laud and Wren, written into an English Prayer Book, April, 1636." *Scottish Liturgies of James VI.*, pp. lxiv., lxv.

This draft book contains the following rubric at the end of the Visitation of the Sick:—

["Line cut off] able to resoirt to the Church for receiving the holy communion, and desire earnestly to receive the same declaring upon his conscience that he thinks his sicknesse to be deadlie, the minister shall not deny him ye comfort, lawfull warning being given him, upon the night before and some of good religion and conversation being present to communicat with him."

In the book of 1637 the Communion of the Sick is the same as in the English Prayer Book of 1559, the word "minister" and not "celebrate" being used. At the end of the Communion Service is the following rubric, which appears for the first time:—

¶ *And to take away the superstition, which any person hath or might have in the Bread and Wine, (though it be lawfull to have wafer bread) it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usuall: yet the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten. And if any of the Bread and Wine remaine, which is consecrated, it shall be reverently eaten and drunk by such of the communicants only as the Presbyter which celebrates shall take unto him, but it shall not be carried out of the Church. And to the end that there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration* (our Saviour in the night that he was betrayed, took, &c)

reservation, or if it was considered as a remote contingency, the compilers took it for granted that the rubric would be interpreted in the sense in which the non-jurors explained and extended it in 1718. We may remember that the Caroline divines must have known of reservation, as they were well versed in Christian antiquity, and that the non-jurors were their direct descendents as far as theological opinion is concerned. We may also note that in the seventeenth century there was no outcry against reservation which would explain this prohibition as applying to it. In the middle ages there were very similar prohibitions against the misuse of any of the reserved Sacrament that might not be required for communicating the sick. In the light of these facts the writer would venture to suggest that the continuous use of reservation, which northern local tradition claims, is not impossible, although definite evidence is still wanting for the period 1560-1718, and that the interpretation of the rubric of 1662, which was condemned by the Archbishops at Lambeth in 1899 is at least not unreasonable.[1]

[1] The Lambeth "Opinions" on Incense and Reservation of 1899 are greatly discredited. The practice of the particular clergy who were singled out as examples was for the most part based not upon any sound knowledge of liturgical history and principles, but rather upon an unauthorised copying of a foreign rite. Worse test cases could scarcely have been found, for—with one exception—no honest man could say from a Catholic stand-point that all the details of what those clergy did were lawful in the English dioceses. From the two chief bishops in the land, however, a wider knowledge of the subjects might have been looked for. One might have thought that the history of the liturgical use of Incense and of the Reservation of the Holy Sacrament would have received original and independent investigation at the hands of those who were to give decisions on the subjects. The actual "opinions" make it very plain that nothing of the kind was done.

Reservation for the sick has a fair claim to be called a Catholic custom in the strict meaning of the word, and in view of the history of the so-called

The non-jurors' book of 1718 contained the following rubric,

> "¶ *If there be any persons who through sickness or any other urgent cause are under a necessity of communicating at their houses, then the Priest shall reserve at the open Communion so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, as shall serve those who are to receive at home. And if after that, or if, when none are to communicate at their houses any of the consecrated elements remain, then it shall not be carried out of the church; but the Priest, and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall immediately after the Blessing reverently eat and drink the same.*"

At the time when this rubric was written the Scottish clergy were using both the English book of 1662 and the Scottish book of 1637, and they continued to do so at

prohibitive rubric at the end of the Communion Service it scarcely can be held to be forbidden by the Prayer Book. A similar prohibition existed in mediaeval days, but certainly did not then exclude reservation. It is in Gratian's *Decretum; De consecr.* dist. ij, c. 23 *tribus.* Lindewode comments on it in his *Provinciale*, Lib. III, tit. *de custodia Eucharistie*, cap. *Dignissimum*, verb. *die dominica*, and says "Non obstat eodem dist. c. *tribus.*" Too much has been made of the provision of the service for clinical celebration and the absence of directions for reservation, but the history of reservation in Scotland shows that the first is no obstacle and the directions unnecessary, for in Scotland communicating the absent with the reserved Sacrament is and has been looked upon as a natural sequel to the public service, and no special form is used.

The use of Incense is a very ancient and widespread custom, about as much so as that of "lights" and "vestments." It is very difficult to understand how the Act of Uniformity can affect the use of it. There are numerous missals of various mediæval rites in which incense is not mentioned; but it certainly was used at the usual times, *e.g.* the entrance of the celebrant and the reading of the Gospel—times of ministration provided in the Book of Common Prayer. See *A History of the use of Incense in Divine Worship*, E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, (Alcuin Club Collection xiii), London 1909, pp. 328-369.

any rate until after 1731.[1] The non-jurors' book of 1718 seems to have been very little in actual use in Scotland, but the Scottish clergy of the early part of the eighteenth century were very strongly influenced by it, and the rubric just quoted entirely described their practice with respect to reservation. When the 1637 liturgy was reprinted in 1722 the final rubrics were omitted, including the one relating to the consumption of the Sacred Elements, and no such rubric appears in the Scottish liturgy of 1735 or in any subsequent edition. The custom of reservation had grown up, but it was not provided for by any rubric. The non-jurors' book also provided for the administration of the reserved Sacrament in the Office for the Communion of the sick. No such directions were printed in any Scottish book until that issued by Patrick Torry, Bishop of St. Andrews, in 1849. Custom determined what was done.

In 1764 was published what the late Bishop of Edinburgh considered to be the *Textus receptus* of the Scottish Liturgy, and thence forward all other books seem to have been entirely disused until the English rite was once more used in the Scottish Church by those of the "qualified"

[1] In 1731 certain articles of agreement, sometimes known as the Concordat of 1731, were drawn up by the Scottish bishops with a view to terminating various disputes about the "usages" and certain matters of jurisdiction. The first of these ran thus :—

"That we shall only make use of the Scottish or English Liturgy in the public divine service nor shall we disturb the peace of the church, by introducing into the public worship any of the ancient usages, concerning which there has been lately a difference among us; and that we shall censure any of our clergy who shall act otherwise."

The Scottish Liturgy here referred to seems to be that of 1637. It is noteworthy that although the "ancient usages" here spoken of grew and flourished in spite of this concordat, reservation was not among those concerning which there had been any "difference."

congregations who returned to the communion of the national Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is sometimes said that in the time of the penal laws most of the communions made were with the reserved Sacrament. The consecration took place either in the clergyman's house with his own family and others as congregation, or else in the house of some of his parishioners, and thence the priest went from place to place giving communion with the reserved elements. Reservation was always in both kinds, and it is said that a specially prepared vessel was used. The service on these occasions varied according to circumstances. Wherever a congregation could be assembled in safety the whole service was used, with the exception of the actual consecration. In the copy of the Scottish Liturgy used by Bishop Alexander of Dunkeld between 1764 and 1776 a long prayer is added in manuscript, to be said in place of the consecration when communion was given with the reserved Sacrament :—

> "When the consecrated elements are reserved, and a new company is afterwards to be communicated of them, the following may be used instead of the Consecration Prayer :
>
> "Almighty God our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son J.✠C. to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there by his own oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memorial of that his precious death and sacrifice until his coming again; hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to

bless with the Holy Spirit us (these) thy servants here before thee, and to grant that we (they) receiving thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine already consecrated into the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour J.✠C. according to his holy institution, and in commemoration of his death and passion, may be made partakers of all the benefits of the same: and so sanctify our (their) whole spirits, souls, and bodies, that we (they) may become holy, living, and acceptable sacrifices unto thee. And we entirely desire thy Fatherly goodness to be propitious to us sinners: and grant that by the merits and death of thy Son, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, may be delivered from the Devil and his snares, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and be made one body with him, that he may dwell in us, and we in him, and at the last may obtain everlasting life with thee; thou, O Lord Almighty, being through him reconciled unto us, by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen."[1]

While this form as a whole is an adaptation of the consecration prayer in the Scottish Liturgy, certain phrases towards the end—"may be delivered from the Devil and his snares" "thou, O Lord Almighty, being through him reconciled unto us" appear to have been adapted from the non-jurors' liturgy of 1718, into which they were introduced from the so-called Clementine Liturgy.

In cases of emergency the service consisted of Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access, Administration, and Blessing. The Collect

[1] Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica*, v. pp. 217, 223.

Epistle, Gospel, and *Gloria* were added wherever possible.[1]

That which in earlier days was done on account of the Penal Laws as well as for the sick, was continued for the latter after the Penal Laws had been repealed. It has been continuous to this day, and is the constant and cherished tradition of the northern congregations. Documentary evidence is practically *nil* even in later times, for when sick-communions were recorded, no one ever thought of mentioning that the reserved Sacrament was used. It was the custom; the usual, regular, and natural thing to do. In the early years of the last century an Aberdeenshire priest would no more have thought of recording the fact that he communicated a sick person with the reserved Sacrament, than he would have thought of specifying that at a particular administration of Communion in the church the newly consecrated elements were used. To this day there are many old people who when ill would not like to be communicated at a clinical or private celebration. In north Aberdeenshire thirty years ago, old people spoke of Communion with the reserved Sacrament as "the Altar coming to them."

[1] "It is singular that there are no contemporary allusions to Reservation,—even for the sick—before 1718. Tradition would put it earlier. I do not think there is any room for doubt that it was practised earlier as a matter of course. I have no great belief in the modern statements about the celebrant carrying the elements from one central Celebration to a number of subordinate meetings. For one thing I fear the celebrations were few and far between; for another all traditions are in favour of the people habitually breaking the law by meeting together in considerable numbers rather than evading it by restricting themselves to the legal few. The Episcopalians were well known, and the neighbours were seldom spiteful enough to "inform." Even when zealots did so, there was a difficulty in finding evidence. There was a tradition of two Udny farmers, Temple and Pirie by name, having been fined for permitting services to be held in their barns." G. S.

In Shetland in the 18th century and later it was a common custom for Presbyterian communicants to take away in a clean handkerchief a portion of the Sacrament to sick members of their families. The writer has been told that it is still done in places.

In Bishop Robert Forbes's "Journal to and from Inverness, Ross-shire, Strathnairn, Lochaber, and Appin, in Argyleshire, in 1770" is the following :—

> "June 24—2nd Sunday after Trinity and St. John Baptist's Day. . . In the evening I went to Torbreck with Consecrated Elements, and communicated Fraser of Phoppachie . . ."[1]

The present Dean of Edinburgh, alluding particularly to the practice at Woodhead, Fyvie, a congregation in the Diocese of Aberdeen which goes back as such to about 1720, and which represents that of the old parish church of St. Peter, Fyvie, says :

> "It was unquestionably the general practice of the Aberdeen clergy at the beginning of the 19th century to communicate the sick from reserved elements. My father (who was ordained in 1826) continually reserved the Sacrament at the Great Festivals, and carried it to all the sick and aged in his parish on the days within the octave. He did not consecrate again, however many he had to communicate during the octave; and on account of the long distances he had to go, his rounds occupied him two or three days very often. The old people in the

[1] *Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes* with a history of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ross, chiefly during the 18th century, by the Rev. J. B. Craven, London, 1896, p. 283.

> north had a strong feeling about the privilege of being communicated from the elements consecrated in the church. They would have thought that the link which bound them to their fellow churchmen through all being partakers of the one loaf, was relaxed if one had consecrated for each separated Sick Communion."

In a private letter to the present Dean of Brechin, the Rev. William Presslie, Rector of Lochlee in the Diocese of Brechin, gives the following description of the practice he found in use in that remote district in Glenesk in 1871.

> "The celebrations were then only four in the year, and large numbers came forward. After the congregation left, the churchwardens came up to the altar giving in the names of any who wished to be communicated privately. The consecrated elements were set aside for them, the churchwardens (reverently) consumed the rest."

Further evidence of this tradition may be found in the rubrics of Bishop Torry's Prayer Book. This was a service book set forth for use in the Diocese of Dunkeld in 1849, which, however, never had any authority, having been condemned by the Episcopal Synod, the Bishop of Brechin, Dr. Forbes, alone dissenting. At the same time the rubrics undoubtedly represent the traditional practice of the north, for in a letter by the Rev. Charles Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews, to Bishop Torry, published by Grant in 1850, the following passage occurs :—

> "You (Bp. Torry) stated that you had no thought or intention of making new laws for the church—a thing

which you well knew, it was not competent for you to do —nor of introducing new rubrics, still less of contradicting those which at present exist, but merely of recording your own experience and recollection of the usages of the church during the last century. . . . ."

The rubrics are as follows.

At the end of Communion Service :—

¶ *The priest shall reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the Communion of the Sick and others who could not be present at the celebration in church ; and when he administers to them, he shall proceed as directed in the Office for the Communion of the Sick.*

In the Communion of the sick :—

But if the sick person be not able to come to the Church, and yet is desirous to receive the Communion, he must give timely notice to the Curate, who shall thereupon carry the same unto him if he have It reserved. But if there be a necessity for the sick person to receive the Blessed Eucharist before the time of the next public Celebration, and It hath not been reserved, then upon timely warning given, the Priest shall come and visit the sick person, and having a convenient place . . . . shall there Celebrate the Holy Communion . . . .

¶ *When the Curate ministers to a sick person of the reserved Gifts, he shall begin with the words,* "As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us," *with the Lord's Prayer, and then shall say the Exhortation,* "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent of your sins," *with the Confession following ; and, if he be a Priest, may add the Absolution, and he shall then proceed to say the comfortable words of Holy Scripture, with the prayer of*

humble access, changing, if necessary, its beginning into "These Thy humble servants do not presume," or "This Thy humble servant doth not presume," with other similar changes; and at the distribution of the Holy Sacrament, he shall first receive the Communion himself, unless he hath done so that day already,[1] *and after minister unto them that are appointed to communicate with the sick, if there be any, and last of all to the sick person.*

At the end of several nineteenth century editions of the Scottish Liturgy there is a rubric somewhat as follows :—

According to a venerable custom of the Church of Scotland, the Priest may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the communion of the sick, and others who could not be present at the Celebration in Church.

This is a modern and unauthorised addition to the Liturgy, although a perfectly true statement of fact. Reservation in no way rests upon it, and its history is explained in the course of the following letter from the present Dean of Brechin to the writer.

"My own recollections go back to about 1844, when I have known relatives of my own communicated with the reserved Sacrament as a matter of course and without any remark as to novelty. I came of a fairly old Jacobite Episcopalian family in the centre of Buchan (N.E.

[1] "I scarcely think Mr. Grieve observed this rule, but my recollections go in the direction of the Communion of the Clergyman being considered part of the *nexus* with the Celebration in the church. As a Deacon I have carried the reserved elements for Mr. Grieve, but never to more than one Communion in the day." G. S.

Aberdeenshire). My mother was born in 1800; my grandmother, who was alive till I was about twelve, was born about 1773. I have frequently heard them both expressing our duty of thankfulness for the privilege we Episcopalians possessed in having the reserved Sacrament at our command in times of sickness and old age—a privilege denied to Presbyterians by their own forms, but common and inalienable to us as Episcopalians. I never heard reservation for the sick and infirm spoken of as anything new, but always as a regular part of the Scottish Church system.

"When there was a talk of revising the Scottish Communion Office in 1889, the Primus met the clergy of the northern part of his diocese (on his own invitation) at Brechin, and the draft revision was gone over between him and his clergy. Reservation was taken as a matter of course. Some of us resented the insertion of a permissive rubric as seeming to imply that we had been reserving without due authority. We looked on reservation as an inheritance antecedent to any form of the present Scottish Office.

"The rubric in Bishop Torry's prayer-book, (which was expressly repudiated by the Episcopal Synod about 50 years ago) was spoken of at the time as an absolute novelty. The insertion of a similar note—"according to a venerable custom, etc"—in the modern editions began first in an edition put forth without any authority, by a committee of clergy serving mostly in the dioceses of Aberdeen and Brechin. The previous editions of the Scottish Communion Office had been bound up with a collection of hymns used in St. Andrew's Aberdeen. This was out of print and was not a convenient size for binding into any of the S.P.C.K. prayer-books ordinarily in use. Of their own motion and without any authority, a number of clergymen resolved to print a form which would be more convenient for use. There was also a hope at the time that the use of the Scottish Office would spread further South in the Scottish Church, among

congregations which represented the "qualified" of former days, and consequently it was thought well for the sake of those who had hitherto used the English Office, as well as for priests coming from the south to insert this *note* (not *rubric*) so as to show the invariable Scottish Custom. This I *know*, for I assisted to revise the proofs, and the note has no authority whatever. I could mention some of the committee; one or two are still alive (1899), most, like Dean Nicolson of St. Salvador's, Dundee, or Dean Webster of New Pitsligo, are now gone. The note has no force, and reservation does not in any way rest upon it. I have joined in the Communion of the Sick with the reserved Sacrament, years before that note was even dreamed of."

The rubrics of Rattray and Deacon required the reserved Sacrament to be kept "in the vestry or some other convenient place in the Church, under a lock." And until the beginning of the Oxford Movement, and to the present day in some places, the Scottish practice was to reserve in the vestry.[1] Anciently in Scotland an aumbry in the wall of the chancel was very commonly used, although the hanging pix was employed in some

[1] Reservation in the vestry was at one time the practice at Ellon. It lasted into the 18th century in some parts of France. It is an exceedingly ancient custom. The great Benedictine liturgiologist Mabillon speaks of it as follows :—

"Antiquior modus [sc. asservandi eucharistiam apud Romanos] is esse videtur, ut in secretario seu sacristia servaretur: quo ex loco Pontifici ad altare accedenti capsula eucharistiam continens praeferebatur. Hic modus tempore Gregorii XI perseverasse videtur saltem in basilica Lateranensi quod innuunt hujus Pontificis Constitutiones hic editae num. XVIII. ubi praescribitur, ut vetera ejusdem ecclesiae instrumenta in sacristia, *ubi est mensa Domini*, reclusa custodiantur."—*Museum Italicum*, ii, p. cxxxix, Paris 1724.

churches and districts. These aumbries were always on the north side of the high altar and were usually in the north wall of the church, although sometimes in the north part of the east wall. Many of them are still in existence, and some are ornamented with great richness and elaboration. In the vernacular they were called Sacrament Houses.[1] When the Holy Eucharist once

[1] The two most ancient places of reservation are the aumbry or locker in the wall and the hanging pix. Speaking roughly the hanging pix was more particularly Gallican, and during the middle ages it was almost universal in the larger churches of the greater part of France, and throughout England It was also used elsewhere, but not to so great an extent. The aumbry in the chancel wall prevailed in the Netherlands, Germany, Scandinavia, Portugal and some parts of France and Italy, and it often attained to a high degree of elaboration—indeed in many of the larger German and Flemish churches it developed into a separate structure standing by itself on the north of the altar. Lyndewode, the fifteenth century English canonist, while approving the hanging pix as fulfilling the requirements of the canon law in England, recommends the locker in the wall on the grounds of safety, and it seems to have been occasionally used in England.

In Scotland, while the hanging pix was certainly used in places, the more general custom appears to have been to reserve in the Sacrament House on the north side of the altar. There is a plain receptacle of the kind in nearly every remaining thirteenth century chancel. Few churches were built in Scotland in the fourteenth century; in the early part of the fifteenth century the hanging pix seems to have become fashionable, chiefly in the south, but before the end of the century, at any rate in the east and north of the country, the aumbry in the chancel wall was very widely adopted. It was more or less elaborate, and several fine examples remain, mostly between the Tay and the Moray Firth. In Aberdeen Cathedral one of them took the place of a hanging pix which had previously been used there. A veil hanging in front of the Sacrament House corresponded to the pix-cloth which veiled the hanging pix. Pictures and descriptions of the best examples may be found in the *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, vols i, ii, and iii, *passim;* and, accompanied by a not very trustworthy paper, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1890-91, vol i, 3rd series, pp. 89-116, Edinburgh, 1891. A little additional information may be found in a rough description of them in the Appendix to the present writer's somewhat hastily compiled tract on *Reservation of the Holy Eucharist in the Scottish Church*, Aberdeen and Oxford, 1899.

more began to be reserved in the chancel, it was a Sacrament House in the north wall that was used. The first modern example was erected by Dr. Forbes, late Bishop of Brechin, in the church of St. Salvador, Dundee, where it is still in use.[1] The ancient custom was restored in several other churches which followed the example set by the Bishop of Brechin. Later on Scotland became affected by the copying of Continental practice in ceremonial which developed—largely through ignorance—about thirty or forty years ago in England, and tabernacles began to be built upon the altars. In two cases where the ancient Scottish arrangement was already in existence, a tabernacle was built to take its place; unintelligent imitation of modern Roman methods could scarcely go further.[2] During the

[1] Among other modern examples are those at Kirriemuir, Braemar, Ellon, New Pitsligo, and Thurso.

[2] In a previous note something has been said of other methods of reserving the Holy Eucharist. The tabernacle on the altar is of more recent growth than any of them. It seems to have developed in Italy, and to have become popular there very quickly at the time of the renaissance. The use of it spread very much after "Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament" increased in popularity, perhaps because it could be easily combined with a "throne" on which to set the monstrance containing the Host.

The altar tabernacle is associated with that *cultus* of the Eucharist which developed very rapidly in the 16th century, and with the modern Roman form of altar, which appears to be constructed for "Benediction" rather than for Mass. In the pictures of model altars issued by the late Cardinal Vaughan, when Bishop of Salford, for the guidance of architects, the altar has become a mere adjunct to the tabernacle above it and to the huge erection of gradines which support and surround the tabernacle. The Eastern method of reserving in a small shrine or casket placed upon the Holy Table itself has but a superficial resemblance to the tabernacle set in the gradines behind a modern Roman altar. It is rather that the security of the closed screen or eikonostasis renders it unnecessary to do much more than leave

last few years the development of a sounder type of ceremonial which has taken place in England, with the growth of the study of liturgiology, has made itself felt north of the Border, and altar tabernacles are going out of fashion again. At any rate there are several churches where Sacrament Houses have been provided, and some cases in which they have been substituted for tabernacles on the altar.

In some places it used to be the rule to reserve continuously for the whole octaves of Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday and Michaelmas in case of emergency, even where continuous reservation was not practised at other times. This, for example, has always been the tradition at Muchalls.

As is the case in the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church at the present day, the non-juring Scottish Church people treated the reserved Eucharist with perfect reverence but without any external gestures of adoration.[1]

the reserved Sacrament upon the altar itself. It may be added that both hanging pixes and Sacrament houses are still in use on the Continent, both in East and West, although the former are but rare. Sacrament houses of magnificent size and elaboration are used in the low countries and in Germany, particularly fine examples being at Notre Dame de la Dyle, Malines, and S. Pierre and S. Jacques, Louvain. That in the Lorenz Kirche at Nuremberg (now a Lutheran church) is 65 feet high, and said to be the finest in Europe.

[1] See Appendix VI.

CHAPTER VI

Mattins and Evensong

The practice of the clergy of the eighteenth century in regard to Divine Service, that is to say Mattins and Evensong, was exceedingly lax. There seems to have been little or no idea of a daily service. Just as the Eucharist was but seldom celebrated, so the Divine Service seems only to have been used upon Sundays. The ordinary Sunday service of the days of persecution seems to have been as often as not of a very loose and unfixed type with extempore prayers, much like the services of the days of the second episcopacy in the last half of the seventeenth century. Where it was not of this character it was taken from the Book of Common Prayer, or it would be better perhaps to say that the services in the Book of Common Prayer were drawn upon for it. Very early in the eighteenth century the Prayer Book was introduced into several churches, but on the other hand the unliturgical type of morning and evening service lingered on in the north even after the Scottish liturgy had come into regular use.

As early as 1709 Maxwell the minister of Tealing in Forfarshire wrote to Wodrow the historian, "Matters seem to grow worse and worse. The English service continues with us, and the Liturgy is in great vogue and esteem, especially among our gentry, who seem to be

disposed to receive anything that is against the Established Church, her doctrine, worship and government." Wodrow replied, "Besides the attempts that are made in giving the sacrament privately, and almost *in articulo mortis*, and the baptising with the cross after the English fashion."[1]

The nonjuring liturgists and theologians of the early part of the eighteenth century certainly understood the principles underlying the ancient choir services of the Church. Dr. Hickes's *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices*, which passed through several editions, is sufficient evidence of this, not to speak of the forms for morning and evening prayer drawn up by Drs. Rattray and Deacon, and prefixed to their liturgies. But the fact remains that we have at present no evidence of the introduction of such forms as these into the Scottish congregations. The truth seems to be that the controversies regarding the Usages which centred round the sacraments, took up so large a share of attention that no one seems to have thought much about improving or regulating the ordinary morning and evening services. The more liturgically minded of the eighteenth century clergy appear to have contented themselves with drawing upon the English Prayer Book when they wanted a fixed form.[2] So that

[1] Wodrow's *Correspondence*, i, 79-84. Cf. pp. 243, 254, 390.

[2] In 1770 Dr. Abernethy Drummond wrote of the Scottish clergy "clergymen who every day use the morning and evening service of the English Prayer-book, and the offices for baptism, confirmation, matrimony, visitation of the sick, etc. occasionally." *The Rebuffer Rebuffed; or, A Vindication of the Remarks on the Second Part of Principles political and religious, and of several MS. letters sent to the Reverend Mr. Sievright* anno 1767. [By Dr Abernethy Drummond] Edinburgh 1770, p. 48.

at the close of the eighteenth century we find the Mattins and Evensong of the Prayer Book in general use, but individual clergy taking considerable liberty in making rather trifling modifications of them.

We are fortunate enough to possess the interesting account of the service as conducted in 1795 at Longside by the famous John Skinner of Linshart ("Tullochgorum.") The writer is John Ramsey of Ochtertyre, a Presbyterian. Speaking of Skinner he wrote :—

He was perhaps the last of his brethren who formed themselves upon the model of Episcopal ministers before the Revolution. Having no affinity or resemblance to the English clergy of those times, either in their sermons or discipline, they had, it is believed, all the good qualities of their Presbyterian brethren without the crotchets of the high-fliers. Be that as it may, he preached forty minutes every Lord's day; and, what is not so common in his Church, made no use of papers . . . . . Like the parochial clergy in Episcopal times, he had a session of twelve elders, who assisted him in visiting the rich, taking care of the poor, and exercising Church discipline, which last does not entirely accord with the Presbyterian form of process. . . . . For a number of years his stipend did not exceed three hundred merks a-year; and in 1745 it amounted to little more than thirty pounds sterling, which was very small, considering the numbers and abilities of his adherents.

The architecture of his chapel, which stands hard by the manse, is equally primitive and unadorned, having the appearance of a vast barn shaped like a cross. It is thatched and so low in the roof as not to admit of *lofts* or galleries. It is tolerably well seated, and will contain more than a thousand people. The altar is very plain, being a square seat immediately below a very humble pulpit.

[In 1795] I saw what I knew would shortly be seen no more —viz., an old-fashioned Episcopal clergyman, who did not affect to tread in the steps of his English brethren, between whom

and the parochial ministers of Scotland before the Revolution there was little similitude. The first thing that struck me was the strongly marked faces of the people, which betokened not only sense and sharpness, but also a serious frame of mind. In point of mode and plainness, their dress reminded me of that of our country-people more than forty years ago, bonnets and party-coloured plaids being frequent. To my great surprise the service began with a psalm taken from the Assembly's version, which, he said, was more intelligible to a country congregation than Tait and Brady's. This, with the precentor's tone and style of singing, made me fancy myself in a Presbyterian church, till the reading of the liturgy dispelled the illusion. That and the Litany were read by Mr. Cuming, his grandson and assistant, he himself officiating only in the Communion service. Some of the prayers and collects were not to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, being either taken from the Scottish Service-book or composed by himself. The precentor sang the anthems in a style that would have astonished and offended an English ear accustomed to good singing; but the devout appearance of the people more than compensated for any defects in their music. At a particular part of the service, the elders arose from their seats and collected the offering, while the congregation sang a hymn . . . . the service being finished, the venerable old man gave us a sermon.[1]

The legislation and the practice of the earlier part of the nineteenth century were all in the direction of greater strictness in adhering to the forms in the Prayer Book. It would be impossible to write a better sketch of that legislation than the outline given by the present Dean of Edinburgh in *An Inquiry into the legal force which the*

[1] *Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century from the MSS. of John Ramsay Esq. of Ochtertyre*, ed. Alex. Allardyce, Edinburgh, 1881, vol. i. pp. 527-541.

rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer possess in the Scottish Church, Edinburgh, St. Giles' Printing Co., 1895) where he says :—

At the beginning of the present century, as is well known, it was the custom of the clergy of our Church (especially in the north), while using the Prayer Book forms for morning and evening prayer, to vary the wording and to insert in parts of the service prayers of their own composition and selection.*

In the performance of the occasional offices they adhered still

*A friend has recently found and sent to me a paper in Bishop John Skinner's handwriting, dated August, 1810, in which the Bishop enumerates the variations which he himself had been accustomed to introduce. Some of them are supremely sensible—*e.g.*, he substitutes words "understanded of the people" for archaic or misleading expressions, as "impartially administer justice" for "indifferently minister justice," "Bishops and Pastors" for "Bishops and Curates"; and so on. Again, he considers it more proper in the third Collect at Mattins to read that "God has brought us to the light of this day," than "to the beginning" of it, in view of the hour at which Mattins generally was said. So in the third Collect for Evensong—a service which, as he remarks, is often concluded early in the afternoon—he prayed to be defended "from all perils, accidents, and dangers of the ensuing night and of all our time"; adding these last words, he explained, so as "to comprehend the sense which some have put on the words *this night* as if they meant *all this night of life—i.e.*, all our present life." Others of his alterations reflect the circumstances of the Church's life in the preceding century. In the Litany it was customary to commend "exiles" as well as "prisoners and captives" to the Divine pity, and the Bishop justifies his observance of the practice by arguing with more ingenuousness than convincing force that to go on praying for exiles shows that there was no occasion for suspecting that the sole object of the petition had been the exiled royal family and their adherents. Again, because, to use his own words, "our poor Church has to struggle with such a host of 'enemies, persecutors, and slanderers,'" he thinks it pardonable to ask the good Lord *to disappoint their designs* as well as "to turn their hearts." And as the days were still remembered when assembled congregations of Episcopalians were by no means sure when or where they might meet together again, the Bishop continues to insert in the General Thanksgiving, in grateful recognition of the security now enjoyed, a clause which had been used in the time when penal laws were enforced—thanking God "for this opportunity of assembling to Thy worship and praise." These are only a few out of many variations he mentions. There seem to have been no portions of the ordinary offices which he was in the habit of omitting, save the Athanasian Creed, "on account of the scruples that were entertained about it by many well disposed members of the Church," and for a like reason he considers the use of the Commination Service on Ash Wednesday inexpedient. [Dean of Edinburgh's note.]

less closely, if at all, to the Prayer Book. This was especially the case in the solemnisation of matrimony and the administration of baptism. An occasional reference in the baptismal register of Old St. Paul's, Edinburgh, to a baptism as having been performed *per liturgiam* shows that the Prayer Book office for baptism was by no means invariably followed even when the sacrament was administered in Church. In the celebration of the Eucharist the Scottish Communion Office, in one or other of its forms, was in general use among the old non-juring congregations; the English office the invariable use of the "qualified" chapels which had united themselves with the Church after the Laurencekirk Convocation of 1804.

Such was the condition of things previous to the meeting of the first General Synod in 1811. The Canons which that Synod enacted aimed, among other things, at securing greater uniformity in the mode of conducting the public service of the Church. To that end presbyters and deacons were ordered to "adhere strictly to the words of the English Liturgy in the morning and evening service, unless where, for obvious reasons, resulting from the difference between a legal establishment and toleration, the Bishop shall authorise any deviations" (Canon XVI.). In baptizing they were allowed to select from the Prayer Book form "such parts of the office as are essentially necessary to the due administration of the sacrament" (Canon XIX.). In solemnising matrimony they were tied to the Prayer Book only so far as to use "what tends to secure the formal consent of the parties," and were apparently left to judge for themselves what prayers—whether taken from the Prayer Book or not—were "suitable" for use on the occasion (Canon XXII.). In the celebration of the Eucharist, whether by the Scottish or the English office, "no alteration nor interpolation whatever" was allowed (Canon XV.). All the clergy were, however, enjoined (Canon XVIII.), in giving intimation of and preparing for the infrequent communions of those days, "to pay attention to the spirit and design of the rubrics prefixed to the order for the administration of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Common Prayer."

It should be noted, however, that the Bishops had previously drawn up a similar Canon to that last referred to, and in even

more stringent terms. The Episcopal Synod in 1809 agreed upon six Canons, which all the Bishops signed. The fifth of them ran: "That they" (the clergy) "attend strictly to the rubrics prefixed to the Communion Office." I do not know if these so-called Canons were ever promulgated; but I hazard the conjecture that the object aimed at in this one was to insure the maintenance of what is commonly called Church discipline.

It is certain, from other features of the Code of Canons of 1811, that the wholesale acceptance of the rubrics of the Prayer Book was never so much as contemplated at that time. The Canon (XIV.) regulating the times for Divine service makes no reference to the holy days of the Prayer Book calendar; the clergy are simply required to attend to the celebration of Divine service "on the sacred solemnities" of Sunday, and "such other holy days as have been usually observed by the Episcopal Church in this part of the United Kingdom"; while in place of accepting the ornaments rubric of the Prayer Book the Synod confined itself to giving—in the appendix to the Code of Canons—a recommendation to the clergy to wear the surplice in reading prayers and administering the sacraments, on the ground that "white seems to be a much more proper dress for the ministers of the Prince of Peace and Purity than black, if propriety can be attached to any colour."

This quaint synodical recommendation of a clerical vestment stood unchanged in the next Code of Canons, which was enacted by the General Synod of 1828. And in that Code there is no material alteration made on any of the provisions I have noted in the Code of 1811, save that bishops as well as presbyters and deacons are tied down to strict adherence to the words of the liturgy at morning and evening service; that no departure is allowed from the form prescribed for use at public baptism (except in cases of extreme danger); that (apparently by carelessness in drafting) the clergy are relieved from the obligation to use any prayers whatever at weddings; and that the anniversaries of our Saviour's birth, crucifixion, and ascension are specified as being with Sundays specially days of obligation.

We come next to the General Synod of 1838. There again there were very few material alterations made upon the position

as laid down in 1811. Still the original Canons with regard to the Scottish Communion Office and the giving intimation of and preparing for Communion remain in force; still the direction stands to pay heed to the spirit and design of the rubrics *prefixed* to the Communion Office in the Prayer Book; the Canons relating to the observance of holy days and the administration of baptism are—so far as our present inquiry is concerned—re-enacted as in the Code of 1882; and the only changes to be noted are these—first "a direction that in the solemnisation of matrimony such prayers only shall be used as are contained in the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer" (Canon XXII.); and secondly, three important new provisions in the Canon (XXVIII.) "*on the uniformity to be observed in public worship*," viz.:—(*a*) this reference to rubrics, "in the performance of morning and evening service the words and rubrical directions of the English Liturgy shall be strictly adhered to"; (*b*) a clause forbidding the clergy "to officiate or preach in any place publicly without using the liturgy at all"; and (*c*) another clause prescribing that "in publicly reading prayers and administering the sacraments, the surplice shall be used as the proper sacerdotal vestment."

The paper in Bishop John Skinner's hand which is quoted by the Dean will be found in full as Appendix IV. It would seem to have been written in answer to Bishop Gleig's first charge delivered to the Brechin clergy in August, 1809, although it never was published.

A good deal more about the variations from the Book of Common Prayer which were customary in Aberdeen about a hundred years ago will be found in the description of the services in St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, from the Wagstaff Case, which has been printed as Appendix V.

These variations are nearly all due to the Book of Common Prayer being only gradually adopted during the eighteenth century, and the freedom with which the clergy had adapted the services to the circumstances

in which they were placed. In the services with proper lessons before and after an occasion on which the Holy Communion was celebrated, we have a survival of the seventeenth century customs, of puritan or continental protestant origin, which were also practised by Presbyterians.

With respect to the non-use of the Athanasian Creed, it would seem that there was great hesitation in introducing the use of a document of a highly technical character teeming with difficult theological terms. The speculative theology of the eighteenth century under the influence of Hutchinsonianism questioned the orthodoxy of certain of its expressions. As early as 1637 Scottish theologians had considered the English translation capable of improvement, and in the ill-fated Prayer Book of that date the text of the creed appeared with two notable emendations. References to it in the seventeenth and in the early part of the eighteenth century are scanty. It does not seem to have been a matter of contention. It had been accepted as one of the three creeds in the Second Helvetic Confession which the General Assembly adopted in 1566; the puritan divine Samuel Rutherford spoke of it as "what every man ought to believe;" the "Savoy Liturgy" of the English Presbyterians after the Restoration provided it as an alternative to the other two creeds.[1] But the fact that it is not used in the services of the Orthodox Eastern Church[2] may perhaps have made the non-jurors of the school of Campbell and Gadderar hesitate to introduce it.

[1] See *The Book of Common Prayer . . . . for the use of the Church of Scotland* 1637, ed. Prof. James Cooper, Church Service Society, 1904, p. 242.

[2] On the acceptance of this Creed by the Eastern Churches as a doctrinal standard see *The Popular Use of the Athanasian Creed*, by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, 2nd ed., London, Longmans and Co., 1910.

They probably knew that, although included in the Euchologion, it is not used in the public services of the Eastern Church. At any rate there seems no definite evidence of its introduction in the Scottish services of the first half of the eighteenth century, and when the Prayer Book mattins and evensong came to be followed with a fair amount of strictness, the wave of Hutchinsonianism had not spent its force. Probably Bishop John Skinner of Aberdeen expresses what had been the general feeling, when, writing in 1810, he says :—

"As that doctrine [*i.e.* of Christ and the Apostles] is sufficiently exhibited in these two Creeds [*i.e.* the Apostles' and the Nicene] considered as public Confessions of our Christian Faith there seems to be the less reason for our using as such what is commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, part of which has been considered by the generality of English divines as a kind of Comment upon the doctrine of the Trinity, and though intended as an Illustration of that doctrine, may yet be far from being so clear to the comprehension of Christians, in general, as to entitle it to be repeated by them as a part of their public Worship. Therefore on account of the scruples entertained about it by many well disposed Members of our Church, I have always declined making any public use of the Athanasian Creed, though I consider the doctrine of it, when properly understood, to be perfectly sound and orthodox." (Appendix IV p. 157.)

An interesting custom at St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, recorded in the Wagstaff Case (Appendix V.) was that of using the Litany on Christmas Day, on whatever day of the week that festival occurred.

In a letter from Bishop Abernethy Drummond to Bishop Watson of Dunkeld, dated 18 May 1792, the former writes, "In reading the prayers at home, I greatly curtail the service. I use the Lord's prayer but twice;

one creed, one blessing at one diet of worship; and the doxology, three or at most four times; particularly, I use it only at the end of the last Psalm, however many may be read."[1]

Although such variations from the Prayer Book order as have just been described have long been a thing of the past, several noteworthy customs in connection with Divine Service have been handed down by tradition in most of the older congregations.

Respecting Lochlee the Rev. W. Presslie writes:— "At one time, not very long ago the usual Morning Service began by the clergyman giving out two or three verses of a psalm to be sung, and after the blessing the precentor and choir sang another psalm of their own selection, very often the 134th, called 'the Dismissal.'"

The *Gloria* at the end of each psalm was recited as versicle and response, as if it were part of the psalms[2]: if the psalm had an odd number of verses the congregation said the first verse of the *Gloria*, and the

[1] *An Episode in the History of the Scotch Office* in *The Panoply*, ed. G. H. Forbes, Burntisland, 1863-9, vol. iii, p. 187.

[2] There seems to be no Western authority for the priest and people saying the *Gloria Patri* all together, or for the choir singing it "full." The *Gloria Patri* is properly a Versicle and Response, and is treated as such by the Book of Common Prayer, which is explicit upon the point:—

¶ *Here all standing up the Priest shall say,*

Glory be to the Father and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

Answer. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

¶ *Then shall follow the Psalms in order as they are appointed. And at the end of every psalm throughout the year and likewise at the end of* Benedicite, Bendictus, Magnificat, *and* Nunc Dimittis, *shall be repeated.*

Glory be to the Father . . . . .

Answer. As it was . . . . .

The *Gloria* is printed in the same way where it occurs in the Litany, and also at the end of the 51st Psalm in the Commination Service.

officiant the second, the congregation beginning the next psalm. It was usual to incline at the beginning of the *Gloria.*[1]

In a letter on "old customs in the Scottish Church" in the *Scottish Guardian* of 24th September 1880, and signed "Ergadiensis," the writer states that at the Gloria all bowed or bent the head, and at the absolution the reverence was very marked, all bending their heads. He goes on to say that the clergy turned towards the altar at the Apostles' Creed, and that at Laurencekirk, at the conclusion of the service each one bowed to the altar when leaving the seat or pew.

The Rev. George Sutherland informs the writer that at Ellon long ago he was told that it was formerly the custom for old women from the Bernie district to curtsey at the words "O come let us worship and fall down" in the *Venite* at Mattins.

Mr. J. E. Vaux[2] referring to a writer in *Notes and Queries* says that "It was formerly the custom for the dean and canons at Durham to kneel down in their stalls when these words were sung.[3] Dean Cornwallis, Dr. Durell, and Dr. Prosser used to do this. Their immediate successors only bowed, and then the custom disappeared entirely. At St. John's, Edinburgh, about 1846, the whole congregation knelt at the words cited above, and the well known chant, *Purcell* in G, was changed into the minor key for that verse only. The

[1] See Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ* iii, p. 20 A.D. 1420, also H. Bradshaw, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, ii, p. 333, and *The Mirroure of our Lady* p. 82 "ye begyn . . . enclynynge to praise the blyssed trynyte. &. say Gloria Patri," for much earlier instances of this.

[2] *Church Folk Lore*, p. 37.

[3] *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vii., p. 280.

late Canon Humble of St. Ninian's, Perth, told me that throughout Scotland old people frequently bow or courtesy when they come to the verse referred to above. I fancy that it was mainly a north country custom, for amongst all the instances which I have collected, only one relates to the south of England." Mr. Vaux then quotes a case at Thorverton, Devon, in 1854.

Benedicite and *Jubilate* were usually substituted for *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* at Mattins in Advent and Lent; likewise *Cantate* and *Deus misereatur* for *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* respectively, at Evensong. *Benedicite* was also used upon Septuagesima Sunday (not on Sexagesima and Quinquagesima); upon Trinity Sunday; and upon the 19th Sunday after Trinity[1] when the story of the Three Children was read in the first lesson. Very often it was broken off after the 2nd verse, *O ye Angels* etc., and resumed at the 26th, *O ye Children of Men etc.* At Fraserburgh it was said as far as the 26th verse, and the rest was sung. Sometimes the last verse also was omitted, although not on the 19th Sunday after Trinity.

The book from which the Lessons were read was often left open somewhere in the Book of Isaiah as being the evangelical prophet, and this throughout the week; and in like manner the altar book was left open at the Gospel for the day.

When the Lord's Prayer,[2] the Decalogue, or the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat* or *Nunc Dimittis* occurred in the

[1] The 21st since the introduction of the "revised" lectionary of 1871.

[2] Standing at the Lord's Prayer was a common tradition in many parts of England, *e.g.* Rochester, Bristol and Norwich Cathedrals. At Exeter Cathedral it is said that the congregation used to kneel. See *Notes and Queries* ix, 1854, pp. 127, 257, 567.

Lesson, most of the old congregations were accustomed to rise up and stand while it was being read. This was also done for the words "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men" at the end of the Second Lesson at Mattins of Christmas Day. In most of the Buchan churches the people stood for the words "Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, the ever lasting Father, the Prince of Peace" in the First Lesson at Mattins of Christmas Day. Almost everywhere it was usual to stand for the words "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come" in the Epistle on Trinity Sunday, and in many places they stood for the words "Amen; Blessing and glory, and wisdom and thanksgiving, and honour, and power and might be unto our God for ever and ever, Amen," in the Epistle on All Saints' Day. At Cuminestown the custom is for the people to stand at the words "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory" in the First Lesson at mattins on Trinity Sunday. Latterly at Peterhead they stood when the Lord's Prayer or Ten Commandments occurred in the Lessons, but not on the other occasions just mentioned.

In *Notes and Queries*, vol. ix, 1854, p. 367, is the following communication. It is signed "Henry Stephens."

"The congregation of the English Episcopal Chapel at Dundee stood during the reading of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Song of the Angels at the birth of Christ, when these occur in the order of morning Lessons. This congregation joined that of the Scottish Episcopalians several years ago, and whether the practice is continued in the present congregation I cannot say.

"In St. Paul's Chapel, Edinburgh, York Place, the congregation stand at the reading of the Ten Commandments in the Fifth chapter of Deuteronomy, and they chant 'Glory be to thee, O God,' on the giving out of the Gospel, and 'Thanks be to thee, O God,' &c., after the reading of it. In the Communion they sit during the reading of the Exhortation, 'Dearly Beloved in the Lord;' and it is but very lately that they have stood when repeating 'Glory be to God on high,' &c., in the Post Communion."

CHAPTER VII

The Occasional Services

§ 1 *Confirmation*

The Canons provide for the use of the following form at Confirmation in addition to *Defend O Lord etc.*, thus:—

Canon XL (of 1890), § 5.

> "The Bishop when administering Confirmation may at his discretion, with concurrence of the Clergyman, use the following form in addition to that prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer—'*N.* I sign thee with the sign of the Cross (*here the Bishop shall sign the person with the sign of the Cross on the forehead*), and I lay my hands upon thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Defend O Lord,' etc., as in the Book of Common Prayer."

This was no fresh introduction, but merely the embodiment in the Canons of a long-standing tradition derived from the practice of the non-jurors. A writer in the *Scottish Magazine* for 1850, p. 523, says "Every Bishop of the Scottish Church within the memory of man did thus confirm. Bishop Rait and Bishop Gleig, however, did not use the sign of the cross."

The use of the sign of the cross in Confirmation,

together with anointing, was restored by the English non-jurors in their service book of 1718 (*A Communion Office, Taken Partly from Primitive Liturgies, And Partly from the First English Reformed Common-Prayer-Book: together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick.* London: Printed for James Bettenham, 1718) and a form which included the anointing was also drawn up in Scotland in the eighteenth century. This and other modifications then attempted, have been left for separate treatment.

Speaking of the sign of the cross in Confirmation. Jeremy Taylor says, "I do not find it forbidden or revoked."[1]

§ 2. *Anointing of the Sick.*

A tradition was current early in the nineteenth century to the effect that unction of the sick had been in occasional use not very long before, and that this really was the case is proved by the existence not only of manuscript forms for blessing the oil but also of cruets which were actually used.

Two glass cruets now in the official keeping of the Bishop of Aberdeen were formerly used by John Alexander, Bishop of Dunkeld and incumbent of Alloa. From him they passed to Bishop Petrie his nephew, thence to the Rev. Nathaniel Grieve, his pupil, who left them to his daughters Mrs. Harper and Mrs. Wilson, the former of whom gave them to the late Bishop of Aberdeen. One is of green glass and was used by the late bishop, Dr. A. G. Douglas, in the case of Mrs

[1] *Works*, (Lib. Ang. Cath. Theol.) v, p. 653.

Mary Margaret Cameron of Garth, Lerwick, on Christmas day 1903.

We have seen that the non-jurors' service book of 1718 had a great effect on the Scottish Church, and the use of unction for the sick was probably due to it,[1] as well as in some measure perhaps to the influence of Deacon's service book which also prescribed it. In the preface to the first mentioned it is alluded to as follows :—

> "The annointing with Oil in the office for the Sick is not only supported by Primitive Practice, but commanded by the Apostle S. James. It is not here administered by way of Extreme Unction but in order to Recovery."

In this book the oil is blessed by the priest in the service for the Visitation of the Sick, immediately before its ministration, which takes place just before the blessing at the end of the service. In Deacon's book a short form of consecration is provided for the bishop to use after the Nicene Creed in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The actual anointing is the same in both books, the priest making the sign of the cross with the oil on the forehead of the sick person, and saying the prayer *As with this visible oil*, etc., appointed for the purpose in the English Prayer Book of 1549.[2]

[1] Writing in 1723, Gideon Guthrie, then an Episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh, includes unction among the usages which he says were then being introduced by Bishops Campbell and Gadderar. *Gideon Guthrie, a monograph written* 1712 *to* 1730, ed. C.E. Guthrie Wright, Edinburgh, 1900.

[2] On the whole subject see *The Anointing of the Sick in Scripture and Tradition*, F. W. Puller, Church Hist. Soc., no. LXXVII, London, 1904.

§ 3. *Burial of the Dead.*

Among the fisher people on the East Coast in the last decade of the nineteenth century, it was customary at burials to place the body (while in the coffin) with the feet to the east, and to set a plate of salt[1] on the breast, with two lighted candles, one near the head the other near the foot, on the day of burial, and female relatives *lifted* the coffin first, or "took the first lift" as it was called. The priest took the first part of the Burial Service in the house, and the second part also, if the place of burial were at some distance. In the latter case a plate of earth was brought in, and at the words of committal the nearest male relative scattered it on the body, either in three handfuls or in one handful let go three times. Any earth left over from this ceremony was not thrown out carelessly, but put in flower-pots containing flowers in the house. At Cruden seven or eight men sprinkled the earth and at Longside the priest did it, as was ordered in the 1549 Prayer Book.

At Peterhead the fisher people used to bury on the second or third day after death. They watched continuously and kept a light burning. At these wakes portions of Scripture were read, much tobacco smoked, and much ale and bread and cheese consumed. Dr. Pratt at Cruden never used to take any part of the Burial Service at the house; it was all said at the grave. There was no churchyard round the previous church of St. James, so that those funerals would have been in the old parish churchyard.

[1] See Sir Walter Scott's Antiquary, at the funeral of Steevie. The Rev. E. Beresford Cooke writes: "Sixteen years ago, when an uncle of mine was buried in Lancashire, a plate of salt was placed on his breast." The custom was very wide-spread. See *Notes and Queries*, ix, 1854, p. 536.

Dr. Pratt wrote [1858] of the lighted candle as follows:—

"Again, at funerals it was a practice, and is still far from uncommon, for a lighted candle to be placed near the dead on the morning of the day of interment, which on no account must be blown out, but left to expire of itself."[1]

In *Old Church Life in Scotland*[2] the late Dr. Andrew Edgar wrote, "At the beginning of the last century, coffins were in Scotland covered with large black cloths, on which were spread herbs and flowers; and in the funeral procession some walked in front of the coffin, more behind the coffin, and in the rear there followed a company of women (Morer.). Sometimes frankincense was used for odorous or deodorising purposes. A minister in Perth died in 1719, and the following bill for his death and burial was presented to his executors:—Final charges, £231 6s. Scots; doctor's fees, £75 12s.; drugs furnished, and frankincense for corps and coffin, £32 4s. Fasti." The late Dr. Walter Gregor, minister of Pitsligo, in his *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*[3] says that it was customary to cover the body of a child with a sheet, and that, as signs of mourning, "If there was a looking-glass, it was covered with a white cloth, as were also the pictures." This veiling of pictures as a sign of mourning may be compared with the similar practice of covering pictures in church with white veils from the beginning of Lent until Easter which obtained all over this part of the church in mediæval times.

[1] *Buchan*, by the Rev. J. B. Pratt; Aberdeen, 1858, p. 20.

[2] 2nd. ser. Paisley, 1886, p. 259 *n.*

[3] London, 1881, pp. 207-211.

§ 4. *Marriage.*

Until comparatively recently marriages more commonly took place at the bride's house than at the church.

Before marriage, women used to wear nothing on their heads, except perhaps a shawl on a rainy or a cold day and in church. The hair was kept in place by a narrow black band called the snood, passing round the temples and tied behind, the presence of which unfailingly denoted virginity:—indeed if an unmarried woman committed fornication the snood would have been torn from her head, if not laid aside by herself. At and after marriage the woman put on a cap, made of white linen, flat in front and pleated behind. This was worn no matter how young the bride might be, or how much hair she had, and it was never afterwards discontinued. It will be noticed that it was really of the nature of a veil, and may have originally denoted that the wearer was living under vows. This would rather lend support to the view that the bride's veil is separate and distinct from the care-cloth.[1]

[1] Mgr. Duchesne, one of the leading foreign liturgiologists, points out that the early marriage ceremonies described by Pope Nicolas in A. D. 866, are merely the ancient pagan Roman marriage rites, with the Mass substituted for the pagan sacrifice. Part of this old ceremonial was the veiling of the bride's head with the *Flammeum*, a bright red veil, afterwards exchanged for the veil which formed part of the out-door dress of all married women. It was from this *Obnubilatio capitis* that such words as *nubere*, *nuptiae* &c. were derived. In the Christian service the chief act was the *velatio*, which was accompanied by a solemn blessing, and such it is called in the old Leonine Sacramentary. Mgr. Duchesne refers to St Ambrose as saying that marriage ought to be sanctified *velamine et sacerdotali benedictione*. This then seems to be the origin of the bride's veil and of the custom of wearing it, or a similar veil, in after life. The veiling of virgins, and later, of nuns, seems to have been originally done in imitation of this. See *Christian Worship*, trs. McClure, London, 1903, pp. 428-434.

The bride's dress was usually a mixture of reds and whites. The bride was attended by one bridesmaid (who was not a mere child) called her maiden, and also by a young man. The bridegroom had likewise a young man, and also a "maiden." The bride and bridegroom were accompanied at the altar by one "maiden" and one young man, the other "maiden" and the other young man remaining in a seat in the church. Widows and widowers were married on Sunday morning immediately before service.

In the Middle Ages we find a custom of holding a large veil or cloth over both bride and bridegroom during the solemn blessing. In England, this was called the care-cloth and the Sarum rubric directed it to be held by four clerks in surplices. There were numerous local variations. The York Manual mentions only two clerks; at Hereford four clerks held it over the backs of the parties. In some foreign rites it approximated more closely to the veil, for at Arles, Valencia, Toledo and Salamanca it was placed on the woman's head and the man's shoulder. The care-cloth was sometimes purple, sometimes white; the word purple was often used to describe a colour which we should call red. At Toledo in 1680 and 1766 a veil of both colours is prescribed.

The exact relation between the care-cloth and the bride's veil never seems to have been thoroughly investigated. Did the old *Flammeum* turn into the care-cloth and afterwards revert to its old use as a veil for the bride alone, or was the care-cloth a later addition in the form of a canopy, something like the canopy held over a king at his consecration? In the absence of sufficient evidence it is not very easy to say. Dr. Wickham Legg in his *Notes on the Marriage Service* in the *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iii, p. 170, reproduces an early 19th cent. French print showing the nuptial benediction with the care-cloth in use, the bride wearing a veil. In this case certainly the care-cloth did not take the place of the veil.

If the writer might venture to make a suggestion, it would be that the care-cloth is of the nature of a canopy, and was an addition to the bride's veil; that perhaps its use arose from a desire to extend any virtue there might be in the veil to both parties in the same way as the ring, which was originally given only to the woman (being the representative of the purchase-money), in many places came to be given also to the man; and that uses like those of Arles and Salamanca, in which the care-cloth was actually laid on the woman's head arose through confusion between the care-cloth and the bride's veil.

During the marriage service (which was that in the Book of Common Prayer) the man stood on the right (the priest's left), the woman on the left (the priest's right) as directed by the rubric, which like most of the marriage service, is taken directly from the Sarum Manual. At the words "Who giveth this Woman to be married to this Man?" the bride's father took her right hand and placed it in the priest's right hand, and the priest thereupon gave it into the right hand of the man, who then said, "I N. take thee N. to my wedded wife, &c." The ring was placed upon the book and the priest made the sign of the cross over it, using some form of blessing in silence.[1] The man placed it on the third finger (that next the little finger) on the woman's left hand. An old tradition told how at one time the ring was first placed momentarily on the thumb and the other fingers in succession before being finally placed on the ring finger. This was a very interesting survival of the

[1] The Sarum rubric runs :—

Deinde ponat vir aurum vel argentum et anulum super scutum vel librum.

The form of blessing follows, in which the sign of the cross is made over the ring. In the Prayer book of 1549 the blessing of the ring is turned into a blessing of the bride and bridegroom, but the gold and silver remain, and are called tokens of spousage. In some foreign rites more rings than one are given ; in others a ring is also given to the man—this is still done in the Eastern Church, where it may be noted that both parties are crowned—while in some German dioceses the use of a ring is an optional and local custom. In the Greek Church the ring is not blessed—merely laid upon the Holy Table. (Compare the old way of blessing the episcopal pallium at Rome by laying it on the tombs of S. Peter and S. Paul while a nocturn of mattins was said ; the sword of the Holy Roman Emperor was originally blessed in much the same way). There seems to have been no blessing of the ring at Milan before the time of St. Charles Borromeo.

old Sarum ceremony.[1] We may safely assume that it was a survival and not a non-juring restoration, because the only non-juring direction we have about marriage directs the use of the Prayer Book service,[2] and we do not know of any case in which the non-jurors went behind the 1549 Prayer Book to the older English directions, although they constantly borrowed material from the primitive liturgies of the East.

It is very curious that the more modern custom of placing the ring on the left hand has become the rule in Scotland —why, it is not easy to say. The right hand was anciently the hand for the ring, but Cranmer changed it to the left in the 1549 Prayer Book.[3] Strangely enough the same

[1] In many old rites the ring was not placed on the ring finger at once, but was momentarily placed upon others at different parts of the form *In nomine Patris* &c. The Sarum rubric is subjoined.

Si autem antea fuerit anulus ille benedictus, tunc statim postquam vir posuerit anulum super librum, accipiens sacerdos anulum, tradet ipsum viro; quem vir accipiat manu sua dextera cum tribus principalibus digitis, a manu sua sinistra tenens dexteram sponsae; docente sacerdote, dicat.

With thys ryng I the wedde and tys gold and silver I the geue; and wyth my body I te worscype, and wyth all my wordly catell I the honore

Et tunc proferat sponsus anulum pollici sponsae dicens, In nomine Patris; *ad secundum digitum*, et Filii; *ad tertium digitum*, et Spiritus Sancti; *ad quartum digitum*, Amen; *et ibi dimittat eum. Missale ad usum . . . Sarum*, Burntisland 1861-83, col. 833.

This represents the commonest English custom. Foreign rites varied very much in the order in which the ring was placed upon the different fingers.

[2] "*The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony is the same with that in the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England*"—Deacon's *Devotions*, p. 154.

[3] The placing of the ring on the left hand is comparatively new. Nearly all ancient books prescribe the right hand, and the right hand is the ring hand in the East. Cranmer seems to have made the change to the left hand in the Prayer Book in 1549, either in accordance with the renaissance of pagan custom prevalent at that time, or else under the influence of an idea then current that the left hand had a specially close connection with the heart. Bishops still wear the episcopal ring on the third finger of the right hand.

change was made by the Roman Church in the *Rituale* of Paul V, in 1615,[1] but it was at first only received in certain places. The Romanists in this country, for example, do not seem to have adopted it until the eighteenth century. The English Prayer Book of 1552 was occasionally used in Scotland about the time of the Reformation[2]; the 1637 book, though hardly ever used, also prescribed the left hand; and of course the left hand is ordered in the Prayer Book of 1662. The use of the left hand probably came in from England, little by little, but it is of course possible that Scotland was among the exceptional districts which used the left hand in the middle ages.[3] The fact of the persistence for so long of the ceremony of placing the ring on different fingers makes it rather hard to believe that the hand would have been changed.

The bride and bridegroom did not walk arm in arm or even side by side within the church; the bridegroom

[1] In the 4th Provincial Council of Milan, St. Charles Borromeo appears to have changed the ring hand from right to left. The Roman Church soon made the same change: down to the end of the 16th century the Roman books agreed with general Christian custom in prescribing the right hand, but in 1600 one was printed at Venice directing the left, and in the Rituale Romanum of Paul V in 1614 the left hand is directed. This is the Ritual now used at Rome, and as might be expected it has caused many foreign dioceses to make the alteration. The change seems to have originated in the 16th century fashion of copying pagan customs, just like the custom of burying bishops and priests with the feet towards the West which grew up in Rome during the 16th century.

[2] For the use of the Prayer Book of 1552 in Scotland, see a paper by Dr. Leishman on *The Ritual of the Church*, [Presbyterian.]

[3] The left hand is ordered in one mediæval Spanish use—that of Salamanca, and in one Swedish use, that of Scara, 1498, where, as at Abo, 1522, and perhaps elsewhere, the ring was placed on the second or middle finger. See *Manuale Lincopense*, *Breviarium Scarense*, *Manuale Aboense*, ed. Joseph Freisen, Paderborn 1904, pp. 132 and 173.

went first followed by the bride, and afterwards the young men and the "maidens."

But the great occasion for ceremony—more than the actual marriage—was the "kirkin'," or first appearance in church of the newly married couple. This took place on the first Sunday after the marriage, or on the same day (being Sunday) in the case of a widow. About half an hour before the beginning of the service, the bride's father (or oldest male relative) went to the church and sat down at the outside end of the seat which the newly married couple were going to occupy, so as to keep out intruders. At the beginning of the service, the bride and bridegroom came to church in procession; the bride went first, supported by the two young men, one on each side, and the bridegroom followed, supported in like manner by the two "maidens." At the church door the young men and the "maidens" stood aside and allowed the bridegroom to pass into the church and up the passage first and unattended. The two "maidens" and the two young men followed, each side by side. The bridegroom stood at the entrance to the seat while the rest of the party went in, and they sat in the following order; the bride at the inner end of the seat next the wall; next her, not the bridegroom, but her own "maiden"; then her young man, next the bridegroom's maiden and his young man; last of all the bridegroom himself at the outside end of the seat, the bride's father having moved off somewhere else on the entry of the procession.

When the newly married couple first received Communion together,[1] they went to the altar one after the

[1] This was at the "kirkin'" if the Holy Communion happened to be celebrated upon that day, otherwise at the earliest opportunity afterwards.

other, and not side by side. The bride knelt between her husband and the priest, that is to say, on the right or south side in churches where the priest communicated the people from south to north,[1] on the left or north side where the reverse was done. She therefore received first, but she kept the Sacrament in her hands until her husband received and then they both consumed it together. This of course could not be done in the case of the chalice. After the "kirkin'," they left the church in procession in the same order in which they came.

This custom of the simultaneous reception of the blessed Sacrament seems, like so many other traditional usages, to have been adapted from Eastern practice by the non-jurors. It is exactly what takes place in Russia when the deacon communicates at the ordinary liturgy, and it formerly was the custom in Greece. According to the older use still preserved in Russia, the priest gives the holy bread to the deacon before taking it himself, the deacon goes behind the holy table and waits till the priest is ready, then both receive simultaneously.[2] The same is the case in Russia when several of the clergy receive communion together.

At Muchalls, and there only, so far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, a very peculiar custom

[1] At Sarum, York and Exeter the position of the bride and bridegroom was reversed during the nuptial mass. The Sarum rubric before the mass is :—

Finitis Orationibus, et introductis illis in presbyterium scilicet inter chorum et altare ex parte ecclesiae australi; et statuta muliere ad dexteram viri, scilicet inter ipsum et altare, incipiatur Missa *de Trinitate.*

[2] *Office of the Credence and the Divine Liturgy of our father among the saints John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople*, ed. S. G. Hatherly, London, n.d. [1895 pp. 90-95].

was observed. The bridegroom's young man, who supported the bride on her right, carried in his right hand a staff, made of some white wood with the bark peeled off. It was between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 feet long and was carried upright, a bunch of blue ribbons being tied to the top of it. The young man (who sat next the bridegroom) held it in his right hand throughout the service. In the evening, the ribbons or streamers were tied round the right arm of the bridegroom, who wore them that night.

These marriage customs, which are of great interest, survived till the end of the nineteenth century among the fishing population on the coast, particularly at Muchalls. The recent migration of the fishing people to the large towns has had a most disastrous effect upon all old usages, and if a marriage were to take place among the few remaining inhabitants of the old villages, it is hard to know how much or how little of the old ceremonial would be followed.

Some of these customs were more or less peculiar to the fisher people, and some were also used by Presbyterians; for example, the supporting of the bride and bridegroom by members of the opposite sex.

At Peterhead the bride and bridegroom went to church with supporters, as already described, but there were no supporters at the "kirkin'."

At Cruden when a man from the fishing village of Whinnyfold married an episcopalian, the marriage was usually in church. In the procession to the church the bride went first led by the two young men, and then the

bridegroom led by the two "maidens," as described above, and they went in the same order at the "kirkin'." In the pew at the "kirkin'" they sat thus: inmost the bride, then maiden, young man, maiden, young man and bridegroom, as above. Blue ribbons, called "favours," were worn round the arm, but were not common among the church people of Whinnyfold.

In *The Life and Death of Jamie Fleeman the Laird of Udny's Fool*, Aberdeen, 1904, p. 73, is the following note upon marriage customs:—

"It may be interesting to give a brief account of a country wedding, conducted according to the manner of former days. The bridegroom when inviting his guests, always asked two young men to do him the favour to bring home his bride. These were termed *the sends*; he who was principally entrusted with the charge being called the *best send*. He likewise invited two young girls to lead him to the place where the marriage ceremony was to be performed, and these were called *the bridegroom's maidens*, the *best* and the *worst* respectively, as each was to lead him by the *right* or *left* hand. In like manner the bride asked two young men to lead her to the place of marriage; the one called *the bride's best young man*, the other her *worst young man*. She had likewise two young women termed her *maidens*; the one the *best*, the other *the worst bride's maid*. When the day appointed arrived, these repaired to the houses of the bridegroom and bride respectively, as they had been invited, and at an hour rather earlier than the other guests. Their business was to see that the parties about to be wedded were neatly and properly decked out for the occasion. According to the time requisite for bringing the bride to the place appointed for the marriage, *the sends* took their departure from the bridegroom's house and proceeded to that of the bride. Having arrived at the door, the *best send* knocked, and the bride, with her maids, having made her appearance, he

asked, in case of not being acquainted with her, if she was the bride of such a man, and, on her answering in the affirmative, he told her that the bridegroom had his compliments to her, and requested that she would attend to the appointment agreed upon betwixt them at their meeting last past. He then saluted first the bride and then her maids, an example which was followed by his companion ; after which the bride invited them into the house, where they were treated with something to eat and drink ; and when there was music and dancing, they danced with the bride and her best maid. That done they shook hands with the bride, mentioned the exact time that the bridegroom expected her, and took their leave. Proceeding till they met the bridegroom and his party on the way to the place appointed for the marriage, they reported to him that his request had been complied with, and that his bride was a-coming. The marriage ceremony over, the *sends* now led the bride to her new habitation, and the bride's maids led home the bridegroom, while the bridegroom's maids, and the bride's *young men* generally walked in pairs. The person who first arrives is said to *win the brose*. Having reached the bridegroom's, some matron appointed for the purpose stood ready with a basket full of *bun*, or in the absence of this, of bread and cheese, which being placed on the bride's head, the bun or the bread and cheese were broken, and handed round among the company. The bride was then *welcomed* into the house by the bridegroom's mother or some other relative appointed for the purpose, who generally took care either to compliment or taunt her according as the match was agreeable to the friends or not. This matron then led the bride to the fire-place, and gave her the tongs, by which ceremony she was considered to be established in the possession of her house. All now hastened to the dinner-table, at which it was considered altogether contrary to *marriage order*, and even rather unlucky if the *officials* did not arrange themselves as follows :—The bride at the head of the table ; on the left hand, first, the best maid, then her best young man, after him the bridegroom's second or worst maid, and last of all the bride's worst young man ; and, on her right hand, first, the *best send* next to him the bridegroom's best maid, then the *worst send*,

and, to the right of all, the bride's second maid. Dinner over, the bride takes a glass in her hands, stands up, drinks to the health of the company; then the bridegroom's best man or send does the same, and, in the bridegroom's name assures them of being welcome; after which the bride's best maid does the same thing, and in the bride's name tells them that they are welcome guests. When tired at the table, they rise to the dance. This, too, is a matter of great ceremony, and four reels are completed before any of the ordinary company are allowed to begin. The fifth dance is always considered by young fellows as a high honour, and is therefore sought by every device, while not unfrequently the fiddler decides the matter by declaring who has paid him for the tune. The dances are arranged thus:—1st. The bride is partner to the best send, and her maid to the other send. 2nd. The bridegroom's best maid and best send, and bride's second maid and other send. 3rd. The bride is partner to her best young man, and her maid to the bride's worst young man. 4th. The bridesmaid and best young man and the bridegroom's second maid with the bride's second young man. 5th. The bride and her maid, and any two young men of the company. Before each dance, the men claim a kiss from their partners; and at the end of the first, third, and fifth dances, the bride and her maid tie a *favour* or blue ribbon on their partner's arm."

The publication from which the above is taken, although anonymous, is well known to have been written by the late Dr. Pratt, than whom no one was better qualified to speak on the ancient customs of Buchan.

The resemblance between certain parts of the marriage ceremonial and that of the coronation of kings has often been noticed. Both include the delivery of a ring; the English coronation ring indeed has been called the Wedding ring of England.[1] In the East, the bride and

[1] *The great Solemnity of the Coronation*, Macleane, p. 88; *English Coronation Records*, L. G. Wickham Legg, p. xlix.

bridegroom are crowned by the priest at the solemn blessing, and the service is called Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Στεφανώματος in the Greek Euchologion. In the West, this has a counterpart in the wreath sometimes worn on the top of the veil by the bride, and in England before the Reformation, a still more evident parallel existed in the use of a metal crown known as the "paste."[1] Among the ceremonies we have been considering another link with those of a coronation may be seen, viz: the bride and bridegroom walking separately in procession, attended by supporters.[2] These parallels are only incidental, but it has been thought worth while to draw attention to them. They must not be confused with the very intimate connection which exists between the Coronation of Kings and the Consecration of Bishops, where almost every part of the one service corresponds to something in the other.[3]

In a book of occasional services printed in 1827 and formerly belonging to Cruden church but now in the Diocesan Library, Aberdeen, the exhortation at the beginning of the marriage service has been altered as follows:—

[1] *The Ornaments of the Rubric*, Micklethwaite, Alcuin Club Tracts, I. p. 48.

[2] Dr. Freisen quotes a Münster *Agenda* as prescribing something similar: "Sponsus et sponsa copulandi ante sacrum a suis amicis deducantur ad templum . . . Sacro finito accedat sponsus cum suis primum ad altare. Deinde sponsa honeste ab amicis et consanguineis duobus ducatur ad altare ut solemniter copulentur." *Manuale Lincopense*, *u.s.* p. 37.

[3] *See The Coronation of the Queen* by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, Church Hist. Soc., No. XLII; *English Coronation Records*, L. G. Wickham Legg; *The Great Solemnity of the Coronation*, Macleane; *The English Coronation Service*, by the present writer.

The second and third paragraphs, beginning "First" and "Secondly" respectively, are bracketed, probably to be omitted in reading, and the earlier part of the fourth paragraph is extended so as to read:—

"Thirdly. It was ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity and it was ordained and sanctioned by the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ that each might be a help meet unto the other for the purpose of each other's salvation, and that the one might stir up the other to virtue and righteousness of life, and that in [the] end the souls of both might be saved and united for ever in that heavenly Society where the Spirits of the just made perfect exist in the purest love and felicity."

Whether the ring was always used during the dark days of the eighteenth century it is impossible to decide. The non-jurors were of course the spiritual decendants of the men who had fought so vigorously for the use of the ring in marriage against the Puritans in the previous century, but in a prayer book of 1701 which formerly belonged to Montrose, where it had been given by Queen Anne, and is now in the Diocesan Library at Brechin, in the prayer "O Eternal God, creator and preserver, &c." the words *whereof this ring . . . . pledge* are heavily surrounded by black lines. And in the form "Forasmuch as N," the words *by giving . . . . ring, and* are likewise surrounded.

§ 5 *Churching of Women*

If there were a woman to be churched, the Churching service was interpolated into Mattins after the second Lesson, and the woman left her place and knelt before the altar, the priest not changing his place until the

offering was made. The woman invariably made a special offering after the Churching service, which was then placed upon the altar (in the alms dish used for the offerings of communicants) and if she happened to be churched on a Sunday when the communion was celebrated, she always received. We see here some reflection of the rubrics in Dr. Thomas Deacon's book, which are as follows :—

Before the service.

> "*This office is to be used immediately after the Nicene Creed in the Eucharistic Service.*
>
> "*The woman at the usual time after her delivery, shall come into the church, decently apparelled with a white Covering or Veil, and there shall kneel down before the Altar or at the rails thereof.*"

After the service.

> "*The woman that cometh to give her thanks, must remain in the same place; and there offer her offering, and receive the Holy Communion.*"

In Buchan it was generally thought unlucky for a woman to go anywhere before she had been churched.

APPENDIX I

EXTRACTS FROM THE CANONS OF 1811.[1]

[*Not now in force*].

CANON XVII.

Enjoining all due reverence and attention in time of Divine Service.

It is hereby ordered that all proper care be taken of the Chapels, or Places of Worship, in this Church, and every endeavour used to have them decent and commodious, and kept in good repair. In the time of Divine Service, the most devout attention shall be given by the people to what is read, preached, or ministered; and that they may glorify God in body, as well as in spirit, agreeably to what an Apostle enjoins, they shall humbly kneel upon their knees, when the General Confession, the Litany, and other Prayers are read, making the appointed Responses with an audible voice in a grave and serious manner, and shall reverently stand up at the repetition of the Creed—at the reading or singing of the Psalms, Hymns, or Anthems, bowing devoutly at the name of Jesus in the Creed; and when the Minister mentions the Gospel for the day, the people rising up shall devoutly say, (where the custom has so been) "Glory be to thee, O God;" and when the minister declares the Holy Gospel to be ended, they shall answer, "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord, for this thy glorious Gospel." During the time of Divine Service, no Person shall depart out of the place of worship without some urgent or reasonable cause.

[1] *The Code of Canons of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.* Drawn up, and enacted by, an Ecclesiastical Synod, holden for that purpose, at Aberdeen, in the xixth and xxth days of June in the year MDCCC.XI.

CANON XVIII.

Requiring due instruction, and preparation, to be made for the Holy Communion.

In every Congregation of this Church, the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be administered by the Bishop, Pastor, or Minister, so often, and at such times, as that every Member of the Congregation come to a proper time of life for discharging that duty, may communicate at least thrice in the year, whereof the feast of Easter, or of Pentecost, to be one solemn season set apart for that purpose. Of this due warning shall be publicly given to the Congregation, during Divine Service, on the Sunday before each Holy Communion, that the People may the better prepare themselves for the participation of that venerable[1] Sacrament. For this purpose, every Clergyman shall pay attention to the spirit and design of the Rubrics prefixed to the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, in the Book of Common Prayer . . . . And because strangers, or those who have but lately joined his Congregation, with the intention of remaining therein, cannot always be so well known to him, as to enable him to judge whether they be meet to be partakers of these Holy Mysteries: Such persons, if required by him, shall produce from the Clergyman, to whose Congregation they formerly belonged, or from some respectable Member of this Church, an Attestation, that they are regular Members of this Church, or of the United Church of England and Ireland.

In most of the Congregations of this Church, it is customary to have publick Prayers on some day immediately before, and after the Administration of the Lord's Supper, and have a Collect suited to the purpose for which the people are assembled on each of these Days; in which case every Bishop shall prescribe what he judges proper to be used within his own Diocese.

CANON XIX.

Respecting the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism.

In the present situation of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, various causes combine in rendering it hardly possible to

[1] It is perhaps coincidence rather than design that this is the same adjective that was commonly used of the Eucharist in mediæval Scotland.

persuade the Members of this Church to bring their Children to be baptized in a Chapel, or place of Public Worship: and it would be found equally improper to press upon them the necessity, or even the expediency, of procuring any other Sponsor, under the name of Godfather or Godmother, than the Father or Mother of the Child, if no impediment lies against their being received as such: Therefore, Baptism being thus almost constantly administered in private houses, without the possibility of obtaining any solemn recognition of it before a Congregation, or in a place of Public Worship, the officiating Clergyman may select from the Office of Public Baptism, in the Book of Common Prayer, such parts of that Office as are essentially necessary to the due Administration of that Sacrament; provided that such selection be approved of by his Bishop, and do not tend to excite any doubt as to the validity of the Baptism so administered. . . . . .

CANON XXII.

Respecting the solemnization of Matrimony.

. . . . . .

As the legal Provisions respecting Marriage differ very much in this country, from what the Law appoints to be done in the Church of England, therefore it is unnecessary for the Clergy of this Church to use any more of the Form of Matrimony contained in the Book of Common Prayer, than what tends to secure the formal consent of the parties; and that they solemnly promise before God and the Witnesses present, to live together as Husband and Wife, according to God's Holy Ordinance; and all this accompanied with suitable Prayers for the Blessing of God's Grace and Assistance, to enable them so to live together in this life, that in the world to come they may have life everlasting. . . . . .

CANON XXIII.

Respecting the Visitation of the Sick, and the Burial of the Dead.

. . . . . .

It is hereby enacted, that when any Presbyter or Clergyman, of this Church, is called to visit any sick Member of his Congregation, he shall not neglect to perform his duty; but, repairing to

the sick person's house, shall be there ready to administer all suitable comfort and instruction, either according to the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, or in any other way, "as he shall think most needful and convenient." For his assistance in discharging this pious and charitable office, he shall have recourse to such Books of Devotion, as have been approved, and recommended by some of the best and soundest Divines of the Church, and be willing to take the advice, or direction of his own Bishop, in any case, which may particularly call for it. When the Prayers of the Congregation are desired in behalf of any sick Member of it, the Clergyman is at liberty to use the Collect appointed for the Communion of the Sick, inserting after the words—"visited with thine hand,"—the words, "for whom our prayers are now desired," or any of the other prayers in the "Order of the Visitation of the Sick," as the case may require; and he shall also be ready to do the last duty, when called to read the "Order for the Burial of the Dead," which he shall use as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, as far as circumstances will permit that Order to be observed by the clergy of this Church.

APPENDIX

No. VII.

Recommendation of a proper Clerical Habit.

Whereas it was represented to the Synod of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, holden at Aberdeen, in the year of our Lord 1811 that different dresses have of late been worn by the Clergy officiating in this Church: and whereas more importance seems to have been attached to the colour of the Clerical Vestments than can properly be ascribed to any colour, it is hereby declared, that it is not essential to the purity of Public Worship, whether the Clergyman, when reading prayers, be arrayed in a white, or in a black vestment: Yet as the white garment was the proper Sacerdotal Vestment of the Jewish Priesthood, and likewise of the Christian Priesthood through the Universal Church for at least 1400 years;[1] as it is the proper Sacerdotal Vestment in the United Church of England and Ireland, with which the Episcopal Church in Scotland is in full Communion; and as white

[1] *sic.*

seems to be a much more proper dress for the Ministers of the Prince of Peace and Purity, than black, if propriety can be attached to any colour, the Synod recommends to the several Clergy of this Church to wear the Surplice, when publicly reading Prayers, or administering the Sacraments; but to introduce it with prudence and discretion, by explaining, where they find it necessary, the principles on which they have adopted the use of this very decent dress.

CANONS OF 1838.

[*Not now in force*].

CANON XXI.

Respecting the Communion Service as the most Solemn Part of Christian Worship.

Whereas it is acknowledged by the Twentieth and Thirty-Fourth of the Thirty-Nine Articles, that "not only the Church in general, but every particular or National Church, hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying"; the Episcopal Church in Scotland availing herself of this inherent right, hath long adopted, and very generally used, a form for the celebration of the Holy Communion, known by the name of the *Scotch Communion Office*, which form hath been justly considered, and is hereby considered, as the authorised service of the Episcopal Church in the administration of that Sacrament. And as, in order to promote a union among all those who profess to be of the Episcopal persuasion in Scotland, permission was formerly granted by the Bishops to retain the use of the English Office in all congregations where the said Office had been previously in use, the same permission is now ratified and confirmed: And it is also enacted that in the use of either the Scotch or English Office no amalgamation, alteration, or interpolation whatever shall take place, nor shall any substitution of the one for the other be admitted unless it be approved by the Bishop. From respect, however, for the authority which originally sanctioned the Scotch Liturgy, and for other sufficient reasons, it is hereby enacted, that the Scotch Communion Office continue to be held of primary authority in this Church, and that it shall be used not only in all consecrations of Bishops, but also at the opening of all General Synods.

Canon XXVIII.

On the Uniformity to be observed in Public Worship.

As in all the ordinary parts of Divine Service, it is necessary to fix, by authority, the precise form, from which no Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, shall be at liberty to depart, by his own alterations or insertions, lest such liberty should produce consequences destructive of "decency and order" it is hereby enacted that at the performance of Morning and Evening Service, the words and rubrical directions of the English Liturgy shall be strictly adhered to: And it is further decreed, that, if any clergyman shall officiate or preach in any place publicly without using the Liturgy at all, he shall, for the first offence, be admonished by his Bishop, and, if he persevere in this uncanonical practice, shall be suspended, until, after due contrition, he be restored to the exercise of his clerical functions. In publicly reading Prayers and administering the Sacraments, the Surplice shall be used as the proper Sacerdotal Vestment.

APPENDIX II

Bishop Robert Forbes' Prayer at the Mixture

From :—

A Catechism dealing chiefly with the Holy Eucharist, by Robert Forbes, A.M., afterwards Bishop of Ross and Caithness, together with a Prayer at the Mixture of the Chalice. Edited from the original MSS. for the Scottish Clergy Society, by John Dowden, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh, Edinburgh 1904.

A Prayer which may be used by the Priest when he is performing the Mixture, compos'd according to St Cyprian's Explanation of this Usage.

O most gracious and merciful Lord God, as this Wine represents to us the Sacred Blood of Christ, and this Water

thy people,[1] and also as the Mixing of these two together[2] represents to us the blessed Union between Christians and their merciful Saviour and Head; so, of thy infinite mercy grant, that those thy Servants, who are to partake of this mixed Cup, may no more be separated from Christ their Head than this Water can now be separated from this Wine, but they may continue their unmerited Union with him by a firm and steady perseverance in that Faith once delivered to the Saints, and by the serious Practice of all virtuous and godly Living, till at last they arrive at that unspeakable Bliss in the glorious Mansions above, which thou hast prepared for those who are thy faithful Servants, through the same Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee, O Father, and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, World without End. Amen.

Our Father, which art in Heaven, etc.

[Forbes' MSS. old Press-mark F. 1. 7, p. 268.

APPENDIX III

Rubrics and directions relating to the preparation and offering of the Sacred Elements.

1. Celtic (Early Irish)
2. Carthusian.
3. Dominican.
4. Anglican.

§ 1 CELTIC

§ 1. From the Gaelic tract on Eucharistic symbolism in the *Lebar Brecc*,[3] a fuller form of that which accompanies the Stowe Missal.

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[1] Aquas namque populos significare in Apocalypsi (cap. 17, ver. 15) Scriptura Divina declarat, dicens, "Aquae quas vidisti, super quas sedet meretrix illa, populi et turbae et gentes Ethnicorum sunt et linguae." Quod scilicet perspicimus et in Sacramento Domini Calicis contineri. Nam quia nos omnes portabat Christus, qui et peccata nostra portabat, videmus *in Aqua Populum intelligi, in Vino ostendi Sanguinem Christi.* Quando autem in Calice *Vino Aqua miscetur, Christo Populus adunatur*, et credentium plebs ei, in quem credidit, copulatur et jungitur, Quae copulatio et conjunctio Aquae et Vini sic miscetur in Calice Domini ut commixtio illa non possit ab invicem separari.—Nam si Vinum tantum quis offerat, Sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis. Si vero Aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo. *Epistola Cypriani ad Cæcilium de Sacramento Domini Calicis.* Edit. Eras. Roterodami, Tom 1. pag. 85.

[2] At the pronouncing of these Words the Mixture may be performed.

[3] *An Ancient Gaelic Treatise on the Symbolism of the Eucharist with Translation and Notes*, by the Rev. Duncan Macgregor, in *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iii, p. 293.

DE FIGURIS ET SPIRITUALIBUS SENSIBUS OBLATIONIS SACRIFICII ORDINIS.

. . . .

Usqui isin cailech artus icon temprid ised is techta. *Et dicis, Quaesso te, Pater*; banna lassin: *Deprecor te, Filii;* banna lassin: *Obsecro te, Spiritus Sancte;* in tres banna lassin:—Figuir in popuil doroiset in eolus in rechta nui tre oentaid thoile na Trinoti ocus tria erlathar in Spirta Noib, *ut dictum est: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt et reliqua; et ut dictum est: Venient ab Oriente et ab Occidente et ab Aquilone et recumbent cum Abraham et Isac et Jacob in regno Dei, .i. in ecclesia eterna*[1] *primo, ultimo in regno celesti.*

Water into the chalice at the beginning by the minister: that is what ought to be done. *And thou sayest, "I pray thee, O Father;"* a drop with that: *"I beseech thee, O Son;"* a drop with that: *"I entreat thee O Holy Ghost;"* the third drop with that:—A figure of the people who were poured into the knowledge of the new law, through the unity of the will of the Trinity, and through the presence of the Holy Ghost, *as it was said: I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and they shall prophecy, etc.: and as it was said: they shall come from the East and from the West and from the North and shall recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of God, i.e., in the earthly church first, finally in the heavenly Kingdom.*

. . . .

Fin iarum isin cailech ar in usce: —.i. Deacht Crist ar Doenacht, for in popul in aimsir a Thusten ocus tusten in popuil, *ut est, Angelus sermonem iecit; Christum Uirgo concepit;* .i. is ann sin tanic in Deacht ar cend na Doenachta. Is don popul dino atbert: *Numquid ego in utero accepi omnem populum istum? Iterum: In tristitia et in dolore accipes filios tuos.* In eclais atbert sin: *Ut apostolus dicit: Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio donec Christus formetur in uobis.*

. . . .

Wine thereafter into the chalice, on the water:—that is, the Deity of Christ on the Humanity (and) on the people, at the time when he was begotten and when the people were begotten, *as it is (said), The angel uttered the word; the Virgin conceived Christ*: i.e., it was then that the Godhead came into conjunction with the Manhood. Of the people, however, he said: *Have I conceived all this people? Again: In sorrow and pain shalt thou receive thy children.* It was the Church that said that: *As the Apostle says: My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you.*

[1] *etna* read, *terrena*

Ised chanair ic tabairt fina isin Cailech nofrind "*Mittet Pater;*" banna annsin: "*Indulget Filius;*" banna aile andsin: "*Miseretur Spiritus Sanctus;*" in tres banna andsin

This is what is recited in putting wine into the Chalice of the Offering: "*May the Father forgive;*" then a drop: "*May the Son pardon;*" then another drop: "*May the Holy Ghost have mercy;*" then the third drop.

§2. CARTHUSIAN.

ORDINARIUM CARTUSIENSE. *Lugduni*, 1641, pp. 340, *et seq.*

Cap. xxxii. *De modo celebrandi Missas privatim, & earum Ministris.* §4.

4. Indutus autem Sacerdos, versus piscinam stans, & socius in altera parte constitutus, Altare praeparant: vt prius traditum fuit, cap. 25. num. 7. Adiutor postea puluinar, & Missale superponit: Sacerdosque praeparaturus oblationem, Calicem explicat, Hostiam de pixide ponit super patenam, vinum in Calicem infundit, cooperit patena, & coopertorium ad hoc deputatum cum cochleari superponit. Postea Calicem sic praeparatum collocat super Altare, inter Corporale & Missalis mappulam: denique in Altaris medio ipsum Corporale, more supra descripto cap. 26. n. 18. & cap. 27. n. 13. extendit, factaque ibidem inclinatione, ad alterum cornu pro facienda confessione pergit: & alia facit omnia, quemadmodum supra sunt descripta cap. 25. n. 13. Dicendo Confiteor. . . . .

10. Credo, si dicendum sit, ac Offertorio dictis, remouet superiorem Corporalis partem versus dorsum Altaris, locum praeparat Calici reponendo, quem discooperiens capit cochlear, & vnam, aut duas aquae guttas infundit, nisi prius hoc fecerit: dicens (De latere, &c.) post-modum extremitates digitorum, quibus Hostiam est tractaturus, lauat, solitos Psalmi versus dicendo, cap. 26, num. 18.

§3. DOMINICAN.

MISSALE IUXTA RITUM S. ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM. *Tornaci Nerviorum*, 1889, p. 17.

Cum vero ad altare pervenerit . . . . ascendat ad medium altaris, et ibi antequam calicem imponat, eum mox versus cornu Evangelij seponat, quo detur explicationi corporalis locus, quod

de bursa accipiens, reverenter explicet in medio altaris. Deinde, amoto velo, et palla, patenam cum hostia super corporale deponat: e calice purificatorium auferens, juxta corporalis partem dexteram in longum extendat. Deinde praeparaturus calicem, eum per medium nodi sinistra manu tenens, ampulla vini de manu ministri dextera accipiens, parum vini infundat: deinde porrigente ministro ampullam aquae, et dicente: *Benedicite.* signo Crucis ipsam consignet, dicendo: *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti.* et Minister respondeat: *Amen.* Postea tantum quantitatem aquae distillet in calicem, quae facillime tota possit in vinum converti; deinde calicem purificatorio abstergat: et sic praeparato, patenam cum hostia imponat, et palla veloque cooperiat, et super corporale in medio altaris collocet; et ad Missale super cussino ad cornu Epistolae parato se conferat, aperiat, et reperiat Missam. Quo facto, revertatur .... ad medium altaris et ibi .... dicat: *Acciones nostras* .... Deinde attente ac devote ad Missae celebrationem progrediatur.

§4. ANGLICAN.

Showing in parallel columns the rubrics of:—

i. The English Liturgies of 1549, & 1662 (now used); the Scottish of 1764 (now used).

ii. The three liturgies of the Nonjurors, *viz.*, 1718, Deacon's and Rattray's.

1st. P.B. Edw. VI. 1549	Eng. P.B. 1662	Scot. Lit. 1764
Then shall the Minister take so much bread and wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose; and putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup prepared for that use, (if the chalice will not serve), putting thereto a little pure and clean water, and setting both the bread and wine upon the Altar.	¶ *And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient.* [The American of 1892 is the same, omitting only the words *when there is a Communion.*]	¶ *And the Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine prepared for the sacrament upon the Lord's Table.* [So also in the Scot. Lit. of 1637 which adds:— *that it may be ready for that service*]

NON-JURORS LIT. 1718

[After presentation of alms]

¶ *Then shall the Priest take so much Bread and Wine, as shall suffice for the Persons appointed to receive the Holy Communion; laying the Bread in the Paten, or in some other decent thing prepared for that purpose; and putting the Wine into the Chalice, or else into some fair and convenient Cup prepared for that use, putting thereto in view of the People a little pure and clean Water: And then setting both the Bread and the Cup upon the Altar, he shall turn to the People, and say.*

DEACON'S LITURGY 1734

[Before service]

Before the Communion time the Deacon shall prepare so much Bread, Wine, and Water for the Eucharist, as he judgeth convenient; laying the Bread in the Paten, or in some other decent thing provided for that purpose; and putting the Wine into the Chalice, or else into some fair and convenient Cup provided for that use, and the Water into some other proper vessel. After which he shall place them all upon the Prothesis, and cover them with a fair white linen cloth.

[After presentation of alms]

Then the Deacon shall bring water to the Priest, who shall wash his hands therein; after which the Deacon shall go to the Prothesis, and having mixed the Wine and Water openly in view of the People, he shall bring the Bread and mixed Wine to the Priest, who shall humbly present and reverently place them upon the altar.

If there be no Deacon, the Priest shall go to the Prothesis, and after having washed his hands he shall mix the Wine and Water openly in the view of the people; after which he shall humbly present and reverently place the Bread and mixed Wine upon the Altar.

RATTRAY'S LITURGY OF 1744-1748

Before the service begins, the[1] *Deacon shall prepare so much Bread, Wine, and Water as he judgeth convenient; laying the Bread in the Paten, or in some decent thing provided for that purpose; and putting the Wine into the Chalice, or into Flagons provided also for that use; and the Water into some other proper Vessel: And shall place them upon the Prothesis, and cover them with a fair white linen cloth.*

[After presentation of alms]

Then shall the Deacon go to the Prothesis, and having mixed the Wine and Water, he shall bring the Bread and mixed Wine to the Priest, who shall reverently place them upon the Altar.

[1] Note, If there be no Deacon, what is in this Office ordered to be performed by him must be done by the Priest himself.

APPENDIX IV

THOUGHTS
ON
THE ENGLISH LITURGY
AS IT MAY BE USED
IN THE
EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

WRITTEN IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1810

BY BISHOP SKINNER[1] OF ABERDEEN.

BEING desirous, under certain existing circumstances, to commit to writing my sentiments respecting the most useful way of employing the English Liturgy in the religious Service of the Scotch Episcopal Church, I feel it my duty to introduce the following remarks by declaring, on the word of a clergyman, that no one can think more highly of the general structure of the English Liturgy than I do; nor can it be supposed, that I have any wish to lessen its character, or detract from its usefulness in the Church, to which I more immediately belong. On the contrary, I have always beheld with admiration its scope, and tendency on the whole, and how well it is calculated to keep alive that spirit of devotion, which ought to animate all our applications to the throne of Grace. While I continue to view it in this favourable light, and it is more than probable that I shall do so, to the end of my life, there is no risk of my proposing any addition to it or deviation from it, but what, instead of interrupting, or obstructing, may rather tend to forward, and promote the pious and laudable purpose, which the compilers of it evidently had in their view. Since it first appeared in that reformed state, which the errors of Popery had rendered necessary it has undergone various reviews, both to suit it more completely to the received doctrine of the Church, and make its language easy to be understood by all her members. The doctrine of the Church, when founded on the authority of Scripture, is justly considered as fixt and immutable, but the language of men has no claim to this divine authority, and therefore varies according to the customs, and modes of speech adopted in different countries. The situation of the Church too is very apt to be affected by the *changes* and *chances* of this world; while in one nation, it is legally established, amply endowed, and closely

[1] This was John Skinner, who held the see until 1816.

incorporated with the State, in another, forming a part of the same Empire, it is merely tolerated by the State, but otherwise as to all matters of spiritual concern, is wholly unconnected with it, and unsupported by it. Such is precisely the difference of situation between the Established Church of England and Ireland, and the unestablished, the merely tolerated Episcopal Church in Scotland. It may therefore be naturally supposed, that such a difference of outward situation will admit of, and even require some variety of Ritual in regulating their external modes of worship, and shewing wherein the condition of the one Church differs from that of the other, as to matters connected with legal support, and civil establishment. In things of pure ecclesiastical concern, embracing the doctrine and discipline of the Church, so far as regards the Faith peculiar to Christianity, and the mode of transmitting Apostolic Episcopacy. In all these respects the reformed Episcopal Church is the same in every part of the British Empire. That system of religious faith, and ecclesiastical order by which it is distinguished in every part of England, and Ireland, is also its mark of distinction to the remotest corner of Scotland. But in this country it is so peculiarly situated as to require in all our religious Services a particular attention to the nature of its situation, and to the necessity of having its members properly instructed, and well disposed to bear their part in these holy Services. When they look into the *Book of Common Prayer*, they find it appropriated to the use of the Church of England, and meet with many things in it, respecting the legal sanction by which it is authorised, and the manner in which it is to be publicly used, that we have no concern with, and indeed no power, or opportunity of observing though we were ever so much inclined to the observance of them. It may therefore be reasonably presumed, that other things will arise from the peculiar situation of our Church, in regard to which, we shall find no rule, or direction in the English Rubrics, that will at all apply to the circumstances in which we are placed, or help us to adapt our religious Services to these peculiar circumstances. In all such cases much is left to the judgment, and discretion of those who have a right to order these matters so, as that according to the Apostolic rule, all things be done decently, and in order, with a becoming regard to the increase, and edification of the Church. The Right, to which I here allude, must, on our principles, be acknowledged to lie with the Bishops of the Church; and even under all the legal restrictions, to which the Church of England is subjected, we find many things referred to the judgment of

the Ordinary, and to be regulated by his decision. The propriety of such a reference must be still more evident in an Episcopal Church situated as ours is, deprived of all support from civil Establishment, and therefore left to provide for itself, by its own internal regulations, what may best supply the want of that outward support. During the turbulent state of the kingdom for some time previous to the Revolution in 1688, and for several years after the shock, which our Church received by the termination of that national struggle, there was no precise form of public prayer appointed for the Scottish Church in general: the Bishops, no doubt, regulated this matter, as they best could, in their own particular Districts. With their consent, and approbation, the English Prayer Book was gradually introduced into Scotland, and came at last to be generally used, with such alterations as the Bishops thought fit to adopt for the purpose of suiting it the better to the circumstances of our Church, and rendering it the more acceptable to the Members of her Communion. I am old enough to remember what was the practice of our Bishops in this respect as far back as at least half a century: and when I was myself admitted into the Service of the Church, I thought it my duty to make their practice the rule of my conduct, and had the satisfaction of knowing that during the whole time of my Service both as Deacon and Priest in this Diocese, my mode of officiating was perfectly agreeable to my Ecclesiastical Superior, and no less so to the congregations immediately under my pastoral charge.

From the time when the necessities of our Church called me to the Office, which I have now long held, with small ability, but sincere good will to promote the welfare of our little Zion, the practice of my predecessors in their public ministrations has been the uniform object of my humble imitation, and from the success, with which, I hope, I may say, without pride or presumption, it has pleased God to bless my ministerial labours, it would seem, as if I were thereby called upon not to deviate from the line, in which they have hitherto been carried on, even although the course I have pursued should appear a deviation from that strict conformity to the English Ritual, which some affect so strongly to recommend, as if the Scottish Church could not be upheld without it. It may be owing perhaps to my weakness, but certainly not to my want of experience, that I happen to be of a different opinion; and till I am convinced by clearer evidence, than any I have yet met with that my opinion is wrong, my conduct must be regulated by it. In reading what is called the ordinary Morning and Evening Service of the Church, the only

freedom of deviation from the English Form which I have ever made use of, may be easily accounted for by its evident tendency to produce a little more uniformity in the language of the Liturgy, and to give our people, as it were, a closer interest in it, and a full dependence on it, as including everything, which the congregations of our Church ought to make the subject of their common applications to Almighty God. Thus, as the relative *who* instead of *which* is made use of in almost all the other prayers of the Church, no good reason can be assigned why it should not be so in the Lord's Prayer also, since a deviation from the New Testament translation here, would have been not more improper than in the concluding prayer of the Morning and Evening Service, where the word *Fellowship* is substituted for *Communion*; although the latter is the word used by our translators in the passage from which the prayer is taken. In a Church so much surrounded by error as ours is, and constantly exposed to the attacks of such an enemy, we have surely need to pray, that the Lord would give *Truth* as well as peace in our time.

In this country it is generally towards mid-day before our Morning Service begins, and therefore it seems more proper to say, that God has brought us to the *Light* of this day, than to the *beginning* of it.

And so in the third Collect for the Evening Service, which is often concluded early in the afternoon, instead of praying to be defended "from all *perils, and dangers of this night*, I have been accustomed to say, *all perils, accidents and dangers of the ensuing night*;" adding—"*and of all our time*," to comprehend the sense which some have put on the words, *this night*, as if they meant *all this night of life*, that is—all our present life.

In the prayers for the King and the Royal Family, as matters now stand, and from a wish to avoid giving any ground for former suspicions, I do not incline to make, or propose any deviation from the prescribed Form, although I cannot help thinking, with the much extolled Theologian, Dr. Paley, that the "*State Style*," as he calls it, "seems unseasonably introduced into these prayers, as ill according with that annihilation of human greatness, of which every act that carries the mind to God presents the idea." And if *human greatness* ought to be thus annihilated before God, there is at least equal reason for avoiding every appearance of overrating *human goodness*; and therefore after introducing the prayer for the parliament by saying, "Most Gracious God," I cannot bring myself to speak of our "*most religious and gracious King*," when I can mention the High Court of Parliament in more modest terms, as under

thy Servant our King, at this time assembled, because we are always sure, that a lawful King must be God's servant, but cannot be so certain of his always being a *most religious King*. In the prayer for the Clergy and people, it has always, I believe, been customary among us to use the term *pastors* instead of *curates*, the latter title, though well understood in England, being little known, and still less respected in this country, where even the Episcopal clergy are never distinguished by that appellation.

In the prayer of St. Chrysostom, after the words, "thou wilt grant their requests," it has always been my practice to add, "*and be amongst them to bless them*," both because this is included in the promise here referred to, and because the addition seems highly proper for keeping the people in mind of Christ's powerfully blessing presence, wherever two or three are regularly gathered together in his Name.

In the prayer for "all Conditions of Men," as there are always some of our fellow Christians expecting, if not actually desiring our prayers, I therefore say, "desired, or *expected*," and in the conclusion of this truly Christian prayer, to make the sense of it bear more fully on the necessity of having human resignation supported by divine strength, I beseech God to give to the afflicted or distressed "strength" as well as "patience," and "*in His good time* a happy issue out of all their afflictions."

The "prayer in time of *War and Tumults*" I have endeavoured to make more directly applicable to the nature of the present War, and the danger to be apprehended from, those "*tumults* of sedition" with which our country has been so often threatened, since the beginning of this awful contest.

When I was admitted into the service of the Church, and for several years before and after that period, many of our Congregations, and mine in particular, were sadly distressed by the want of any fixed or permanent place of public worship, so that when they met together for that purpose, they were often at a loss to know, when, or where they might have another opportunity of being thus piously assembled. In a situation so precarious, and exciting constant anxiety in the mind of a devout Christian, I thought it peculiarly becoming in such a state of things, after blessing God for our creation, for our preservation, and all the blessings of this life, to insert in the General Thanksgiving, "*especially for this opportunity of assembling to Thy worship and praise.*" And though the opportunities of our thus assembling, are at present, thank God, somewhat better secured to us, than at the time, to which I have been now looking back, yet is it still very proper to preserve in the minds

of our people a thankful sense of our deliverance from the restraints, which were once imposed on our public Worship, and at any rate to hold out to them the just value of this inestimable blessing, by making it the subject of our public Thanks, as often as we assemble in the House of prayer, and praise. I come now to that part of our general Supplications called the *Litany*, in which I have always been happy to find but a very few additions or alterations necessary. In all Seaport towns, I suppose, it is considered as agreeable to the inhabitants to pray for the safety of their friends, and connections that may be "travelling either by land, or by water"; and therefore to the general supplication for the safety of such travellers, I always add, "*those belonging to this place in particular.*"

In the end of this clause in the Litany, our Church was long accustomed to insert the word "*Exiles*," with some view, no doubt, to the sufferings of the exiled Family, and their adherents; but to show, that there was no occasion for suspecting this to be the sole object, which the word *Exiles* had in view, I humbly think there is no impropriety in continuing to beseech our good Lord to "show pity upon all prisoners, *exiles*, and captives," when we consider what a prodigious number of unfortunate *Exiles* there is in this country, more perhaps than ever before was known, and not in this country only, but in many of the surrounding nations, not to speak of the great number of unhappy convicts banished from their native land.

When we have thus expressed a charitable wish for pity to those that need it, and also for "forgiveness to our enemies, persecutors and slanderers;" and when we consider what a host of these our poor Church has to struggle with, we may surely call in the divine aid to our support, by praying, that our good Lord may *disappoint their designs*, as well as turn their hearts.

In begging of the same Lord to "give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth," it is no less proper that we mention this as the end of our praying for these temporal blessings, that "in due time we may *thankfully* enjoy them," because we need to be kept in mind, that without a *thankful* enjoyment of them, we cannot be said to enjoy them at all.

When the Litany applies for *peace*, and *mercy* from the Lamb of God, it is surprising, that any word in the Baptist's description here quoted should have been altered, and put in the plural, instead of the singular number; and therefore we do well to adhere to the express declaration of Scripture, and say—"O Lamb of God, that takest away" not the "*sins*," but the *sin*, that is, the sinful state "of the world!"

In one of the concluding prayers of the Litany, where

mention is made of those Evils, that we most "*righteously* have deserved," it is surely better to say, that we have most *justly* deserved them, because *Righteousness*, in its scriptural sense, carries to the mind of a Christian something rather favourable, than forbidding, and at any rate, is of more comprehensive import, than what we usually mean by the term *Justice*.

After the Morning Prayer, with the Litany, is ended, and a Hymn, or part of a Psalm sung for enlivening the attention of the Congregation, we proceed to what is usually called the Communion, or Altar Service, which very properly begins with the Lord's Prayer, and a suitable Collect, as introductory of what follows. In our Church, as far as I can recollect, the practice has been to read the Ten Commandments, or the Summary of the Law, or both, as the officiating clergyman shall think fit. And as we have no mark of distinction for the penitential, or humiliating season of Lent, but the Collect for Ash-Wednesday, my method has been to appropriate the reading of all the *Ten Commandments*, as well as the *Summary*, to that holy Season, and the Season of Advent, as preparatory to the Festival of Christmas, and to read the *Summary* only, throughout the rest of the year, which I think, is a more proper way of shortening the Service, where that is thought necessary, than by leaving out, after Sermon, as I am told, is sometimes done, our most excellent Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church.

After the rehearsing of the Ten Commandments, the English Liturgy provides two Collects for the King, and leaves it to the discretion of the Priest to use which of them he pleases. Many people think, it would have been much better ordered, had he been allowed to use them in some other part of the public Service, as it is difficult to discover, why a Prayer for the King should immediately follow our imploring God's mercy, and grace to keep his holy Laws. "It were to be wished," says Dr. Paley, "that every part of a Liturgy were personally applicable to every Individual in the Congregation, and that nothing were introduced to interrupt the passion, or damp a flame, which it is not easy to rekindle. Upon this principle the *State Prayers* in our Liturgy should be fewer, and shorter. Whatever may be pretended, the Congregation do not feel that concern in the subject of these prayers, which must be felt, or ever prayer be made to God with earnestness." Where the Doctor alludes to "*whatever may be pretended*," he probably had in his eye the *pretence* of the King being the Head of the Church, as a sufficient reason for supposing its prosperity to be so connected with the welfare of its Head, as to give an interest in that

welfare to all who wish to share in the prosperity of the Church. But as we have nothing to expect from that quarter, and the King would think it no compliment to be looked up to, as the Head of our Church, we need not expose ourselves to the jealousy of our Enemies by using a prayer which seems connected with the temporalities of an established Church, when another prayer can be found much better adapted to the occasion, and embracing as its object the spiritual concerns of a Church, unestablished as ours is, and unbeneficed by any act or instance of the Royal Bounty. It is therefore with peculiar propriety, that after the reading the Ten Commandments or the Summary of the Law, we make use of that Post Communion Collect, in which "we beseech our Almighty Lord, and everlasting God to direct, sanctify, and govern both our hearts, and bodies in the ways of his Laws, and in the works of *these* his Commandments," because that will be the means of procuring for us, what is better than any support from the highest of the sons of men, even God's "most mighty protection both here and ever."

Mr. Wheatly observes, that "as the Apostles Creed is placed immediately after the daily lessons, so is the Nicene Creed after the Epistle and Gospel, both of them being founded upon the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles:"—And as that doctrine is sufficiently exhibited in these two Creeds, considered as public Confessions of our Christian Faith there seems to be the less reason for our using as such what is commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, part of which has been considered by the generality of English Divines as a kind of Comment upon the doctrine of the Trinity, and though intended as an Illustration of that doctrine, may yet be far from being so clear to the comprehension of Christians, in general as to entitle it to be repeated by them as a part of their public Worship. Therefore on account of the scruples entertained about it by many well disposed Members of our Church, I have always declined making any public use of the Athanasian Creed, though I consider the doctrine of it, when properly understood, to be perfectly sound, and orthodox.

For a similar reason, it has ever appeared to me as equally inexpedient to introduce on Ash-Wednesday what is usually called the *Commination* Office, the design of which is so apt to be misapprehended, that the use of it can hardly be considered as in any way tending to edification.

In considering that part of the Divine Service, which remains to be gone through, after the Sermon is ended, I think it strange, that those who affect to enforce a strict observance of every

Rubric, should not attend to that which appoints the "Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church," to be always used before the Blessing, as well as one, or more of the Post Communion Collects! And I see no good reason why those who use the Scotch Communion Office, and introduce the "Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church," without adding "Militant here in earth," should not conclude that prayer in the words of the same Office, as more full and expressive of what our Church believes respecting the state of the faithful departed, between death and the resurrection.

I have now stated my opinion with respect to all the variations from, or additions to, the English Liturgy, which I think, might, with propriety, be adopted in the ordinary Service of our Church. What I have mentioned as my own practice, in regard to these matters includes all that can be considered of any importance; since I do not view in that light the change of a word here, and there, such as *these* for *those* in the Absolution,—*impartially* for *indifferently* in the "Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church" and "*now and for evermore*," instead of *always* in the Blessing.

My only wish in giving this very brief sketch of my sentiments, is to shew in a few words, but as clearly as possible, the ground on which my opinion rests, respecting the alterations, not many in number, which I have thought proper to adopt, in going through the ordinary public Service prescribed by the English Liturgy. Whether all, or any, of these alterations are generally considered as *Improvements*, is more than I can say. If they are not so considered, I am far from desiring, that they should be adopted; but if any of them shall appear to be peculiarly suited to the situation of our Church, and such as may enable her Members to pray with understanding, as well as with piety, so as that her religious Service may be acceptable to God, and edifying to men, let it not be pretended, that our Church has no authority to order her ritual with particular view to the attainment of objects so truly Christian, and commendable. Certain it is, that as matters now stand, the use of the English Liturgy in this part of the Kingdom neither is, nor can be supported by any *civil* authority; it is here merely allowed, but not enjoined, tolerated, but not commanded. Neither can those English-ordained Clergy officiating in this Country, who are supposed to conform strictly to it, pretend to do so, in obedience to any authority derived from the Church of England, because it is well known, that while they reside in Scotland, they are completely out of the reach of her jurisdiction, and have no more authority from her to use her Liturgy than to assume the charge of congregations merely calling themselves, but showing no right that they have to be called, of the Church of England.

The only Ecclesiastical authority that can be found in this country for using a reformed Liturgy, is the authority of the Scotch Episcopal Church, in asserting which I have the support of those very Articles of Religion, to which our Clergy have subscribed as a Testmony of our agreement in *doctrine* and *discipline* with the United Church of England, and Ireland. For in her XXXIV Article, she expressly declares that "every particular, or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." "In this authority," says a very learned Divine, "the right of framing its own Articles, and its own Liturgy must necessarily be included; and the Church of England, in acknowledging this right to belong to every particular, or national church, asserts only what the Church Catholic, in its primitive, and purest times, constantly maintained, and allowed, it being evident, that not only particular Churches have varied in their Liturgical Offices, but that even particular Dioceses or Districts in the same Church, have used offices varying in some respects from each other. Now the Church of Scotland, having been from its first foundation to the present moment, a distinct, national Church, has surely the same right as the Church of England to frame Articles, and a Liturgy for itself. This cannot be denied on the principles of the Church of England, who might indeed justly be charged with an usurpation of authority over other Churches, if she were to assert a contrary principle."

These were the sentiments expressed in a Letter, of which I was favoured with a copy, as written about eight years ago to a Clergyman in Edinburgh by Mr. Van Mildert, the present worthy Proctor of St. Mary le bow, London. I have reason to believe that the same sentiments are entertained by several of the most learned and soundest Divines of the Church of England, who by acknowledging ours as a *Sister* Church, plainly declare that she is not the *same* Church, no more than two sisters can be considered as one, and the same person, or as obliged on every occasion to appear precisely in the same dress, as a proof of their family likeness, and affection to each other.

There is such a material difference between the outward appearance of the Church of England, and the humble condition of her Sister in Scotland, that I cannot help thinking there should be some peculiarity in our public Service, pointing out, as it were, the modest unassuming character in which we wish to appear as a purely primitive, but not a legally established Church.

Such is the opinion I have always held respecting the part which it becomes us to act, under the trying circumstances in

which we are placed, always remembering, as an Apostle observes, "that the trying of our faith worketh patience," showing us the necessity of that patient submission to the will of God, which will keep us from affecting such a close resemblance of things, within our reach as would seem to indicate a strong desire of what our Church can never hope to attain, the splendour and affluence of an Episcopal Establishment. All this I took an opportunity of representing very plainly in a *Charge* delivered to the Clergy of this Diocese, and published at their request, a few years ago; and though my sentiments on this subject, are I believe, pretty generally known, not only through the circle of our small ecclesiastical Society in this country, but among those, who have shewn themselves our sound, and steady friends in England; I have never heard, that either my principles, or my practice in explaining, and performing our Liturgical Offices have given any offence to those whose good opinion I would wish to cultivate, as far as is consistent with what conscience, and a sense of duty lay me under as higher obligations.

To what is enforced by such superior motives, I must ever yield obedience, be the consequence what it will as to all worldly, and therefore inferior considerations. The Doctrine of the Church of England, as founded on the authority of Scripture, and exhibited in her Creeds, and Articles of Religion, I most cordially, and conscientiously embrace. Her Episcopal form of Government, as handed down by succession from the Apostles, I look up to, with grateful veneration, as the channel through which Scotland has received its pure, and primitive Episcopacy. With the pious strain, and structure of the English Liturgy, as regulating the ordinary Service of the Church, I am highly pleased, and use it with still increasing delight, when accommodated more closely to our situation, by those few verbal alterations, or additions, which I have briefly noticed, together with my reasons for adopting them. But as I do not embrace the doctrine, or venerate the government of the Church of England, merely because they are the doctrine, and government of that Church, so neither do I use any part of her form of worship, because it is prescribed by the English Liturgy, but because it is admirably calculated on the whole to convey to the Throne of Grace the piety, and devotion of sound and sincere Christians. But this surely it can do, without binding us down to the use of every word, and the following of every Rubric to be found in the Book of Common Prayer. On the same principle which would enforce such an obligation, it may be pretended, that we ought strictly to adhere to the "Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper" as laid down in

the English Prayer Book; and indeed there is but too much ground to fear that a general rejection, or disuse of the *Scotch Communion Office* will be the consequence of the attempts that are now making to assimilate our Divine Service in every the minutest article to that of the Church of England, yet if we may judge of what would be the effect of this among the people of our Communion, by what we see, and hear of the use that is made of it by those, who calling themselves *Episcopal* Congregations, have yet no relation to, or connection with any Clergyman in the character of a *Bishop*, we need not be very zealous in enforcing this strict adherence to all the English forms in our religious Service. For, I believe, it will be found on a fair enquiry, that nothing has so much tended to produce and continue a lamentable division among those who profess to be of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland, as this ill-founded notion, that wherever the English Liturgy is used, without the smallest variation, it is there, and there only that a congregation can be considered as of the same principles with the Church of England—without ever enquiring by what authority the person officiates who uses that Liturgy, or whether, as an Episcopal Clergyman, he has been regularly appointed by a Bishop to the charge of the congregation, in which he thus officiates. It is well-known what complaints are daily made on account of such irregularities even in the Church of England, where thousands are deluded by the use of the English Prayer-Book, and by this deception are carelessly led astray, and tempted to follow the very wildest sectaries. The delusion indeed is said to be greatly encouraged by the use that is allowed to be made of what is called the *Bidding prayer*, before sermon, which, it seems, is often turned into a *petitionary form*, and made to embrace such a variety of matter in the way of supplication as far exceeds the utmost reach of deviation from the English Liturgy that is ever practised in the Scotch Episcopal Church. I see no good reason therefore, why we should be laid under restrictions in the mode of our officiating, to which, I believe, no church situated as ours is, was ever subjected. Though no longer established by legal authority, we are still by Ecclesiastical statute, a regularly formed, distinct, and national church, authorized to ordain such rites, and ceremonies in our religious Service as are found to be most edifying to her Members. That is the rule, by which I have always acted in regard to these matters; and till the authority of our Church be interposed, in a canonical manner, to give a different direction to my official conduct, I have a right, as Bishop of the Diocese, which has been so long under my charge, to see that the celebration of Divine Service be carried

on in this Diocese agreeably to the instructions which I may find necessary to be given for that purpose. When these shall appear to be no longer conducive to the peace, the comfort, and edification of our Church, it will be time for me, after nearly fifty years already spent it its service, to relinquish the station, which I have so weakly filled, and take my leave of all its concerns with a "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

APPENDIX V

A Description of the services in St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, between 1795 and 1840

From

ANSWERS
for
The Reverend Charles Wagstaff, M.A.,
Junior Incumbent of St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen.
to
THE CHARGES
preferred against him by
The Reverend John Burnett Pratt,
appointed by the Bishop of the Diocese to state the same,
in terms of Canon XXXVI

21st November, 1849.

pp. 7 to 17.

In order to understand aright the present controversy, it is absolutely necessary that the history of St. Andrew's Church and the forms of worship which at different times have prevailed there, should be accurately known. To a statement of these the Respondent therefore, first of all, solicits the attention of the Synod.

The Congregation, which is now represented by St. Andrew's Church, first makes its appearance after the issue of the unsuccessful attempt to restore the Stuarts to the throne of their fathers in 1715. Its founder was Mr. Andrew Jaffray, who before the Revolution of 1688 had been minister of Alford. Like many others of the Clergy of this Diocese, he retained possession of his parish long after the Church had ceased to be established. He was at length driven from it, and about the year 1716 came to reside in Aberdeen. Here he opened what was then called a meeting house at the back of the Tolbooth,

where he continued to officiate till his death, about the year 1730. During the period of his incumbency at Aberdeen, the Book of Common Prayer was generally used throughout the Diocese, which was then governed by the fearless and high-principled Bishop Gadderar. But, whatever the cause may have been, it was not used in Mr. Jaffray's congregation, neither was it used during the incumbency of his successor, Mr. James Miln.[1] How far this circumstance may have made a lasting impression on the character of the Congregation the Respondent will not here consider.

On the death of Mr. Miln, Mr. William Smith became Clergyman in his room, in the year 1735. He showed how well he deserved his appointment, by taking immediate steps for removing the grievous deficiency which had been tolerated by his predecessors. He caused the Prayer Book to be used on Sundays.[2] It was still only on Sundays that divine service was celebrated at all. As might be expected, in a Congregation where the Book of Common Prayer had been disregarded, there was no observance of Holy-days or other sacred seasons. On these occasions, Mr. Smith assisted his friend, Mr. Gerard, then clergyman of another congregation in Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop. The relative position of these two Congregations, both of which still exist, in their progress towards the recovery of the full liturgical and ritual system of the Church is worthy of remark.

Mr. Smith continued to officiate as Pastor of the Congregation during the trying times in which his lot was cast, to his death in 1774. While he was clergyman, the place where the Congregation met was removed from the neighbourhood of the Tolbooth, first to the Concert Close in the Broadgate, and afterwards to a Close on the West side of the Guestrow. During his incumbency, if not prior to it, the Scottish Communion Office was used in the celebration of the Eucharist, and that venerable Liturgy has ever since been faithfully maintained. He also succeeded in gradually introducing the observance of the other Holy-days of the Church, in addition to the Sunday.

Mr. Smith was succeeded, as Pastor of the Congregation, by Mr. John Skinner, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus of the Scottish Church. Soon after his appointment the Chapel

[1] Introductory Sketch of the History of the Congregation prefixed to the Rules and Regulations of St. Andrew's Church, p. 12.

[2] Introductory Sketch, p. 15.

was removed from the Guestrow to the upper part of a house in Longacre. This, also, in the course of years, proving insufficient for the increasing Congregation, a new place of worship which was named St. Andrew's Chapel was erected on the site of the former, and divine service was first celebrated within it on Sunday, the 13th day of September, 1795. From this time, the memory of persons yet living supplies information, sufficiently full and accurate, as to the modes in which divine worship was celebrated; and here, therefore, it may be convenient to mention what was then the established ritual in St. Andrew's. It is almost needless to state that, at the period to which reference is made, the Incumbent of St. Andrew's Chapel was Bishop of Aberdeen, and Primus of the Church in Scotland.

There was Morning and Evening Prayer on Sundays, and a sermon at each of these services. The Holy Communion was celebrated seven times in the year, viz., on Christmas Day, on the first Sunday in Lent, on Good Friday, on Easter-day, on Whitsunday, and twice during the Sundays after Trinity. There was Morning Prayer on all the other Holy-days, on every Wednesday and Friday, and on the Saturday before, and the Monday after, Communion when celebrated on a Sunday. There was no service on Christmas-eve, or Whitsun-eve. The Respondent has not been able to ascertain precisely what services there were at this time during the Holy Week. It may be mentioned that, in all these services, including the celebration of the Holy Communion, the only vestment worn by the Minister was a black gown.

The following was the order of the Sunday Morning Service:—It commenced with the singing of several verses from the metre psalms of Brady and Tate, which were given out by the Clergyman. These were followed by the Order for Mattins, as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, without any variation, to the conclusion of the first Lesson. The Te Deum was always used after the first Lesson, except on a few occasions when part of the Benedicite was said. It was the custom, in singing that Canticle to leave out the whole between the commencement of the second verse and the conclusion of the twenty-fifth. The second Lessons were according to the Calendar, except that, in reading the third Chapter of St. Luke, our Lord's genealogy was left out. The practice as to the corresponding portion of the first chapter of St. Matthew cannot be distinctly ascertained. It is rather thought that another Lesson was substituted. The service then proceeded, without variation from the Prayer Book to the Creed. The only Creed used in Morning Prayer was the Apostles' Creed. That of St.

Athanasius was never said. There was no further difference from the order prescribed in the Rubric till the end of the third collect. Singing had all along been used in St. Andrew's, but there was at this part of the service no Anthem.

Morning Prayer was followed by the Litany, according to the Prayer Book. As far as has been ascertained, the Prayer appointed for the Ember Weeks was not used at this time. After the Litany was ended, a hymn was sung from the Collection of hymns and anthems still used in St. Andrews Church.

The Priest then proceeded to the Altar and said the Lord's Prayer and the Collect following as in the Prayer Book. The Ten Commandments did not follow; but in their place was substituted the summary of them contained in the Gospels. The service then proceeded according to the Prayer Book to the commencement of the Gospel, which was preceded and followed by the Gloria and Thanksgiving still used in terms of the present Canons. The Nicene Creed was then said. It may here be remarked that it was the universal practice at this time, both of Priest and people, to bow the head at the name of Jesus in the Creeds, and when glory was ascribed to the Blessed Trinity.

When the Nicene Creed was said, another short hymn from the Collection of Hymns and Anthems was sung by the Congregation. The Minister then went to the pulpit, from which he announced the Holy Communion when it was to be celebrated and also the Holy-days, but not the Fasting-days in the week following. A Collect and the Lord's Prayer were then said, and after these came the Sermon.

When the Sermon was concluded, several verses of Brady and Tate were again sung and thereafter the Priest returning to the Altar, said the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church from the Scottish Communion Office, and concluded with some Collects and the Blessing.

The Sunday Evening Service was begun with verses from Brady and Tate, and was then conducted like the corresponding portions of the Morning Service. There was no Anthem after the Third Collect; and, as far as can be ascertained, the Ember Prayer was never used. Evensong, like Mattins, was concluded with a Hymn from the Collection of Hymns and Anthems. After the Hymn came a Sermon, preceded, as in the morning, by a Collect and the Lord's Prayer, and followed by the singing of verses from Brady and Tate, by some Collects, and the Blessing from the Communion Office. After all came the Anthem; for which provision is made in the Collection of Hymns and Anthems already referred to.

The Morning Prayer on other Holy-days was the same as on Sundays, except that there was no singing. The Creed of St. Athanasius was not used; and the Gospel Summary was substituted for the Decalogue. On Christmas Day, the Litany was always said on whatever day of the week the Festival took place. There was Evening as well as Morning Service on Christmas Day, and a Sermon at both services. There was a Sermon on the Feast of the Circumcision. On the same Festival, a special prayer in commemoration of the New-year was said, and a Hymn was sung on the subject from the Collection of Hymns and Anthems. There was a Sermon on the Feast of St. Stephen, and on Monday in Easter week. There was, it is believed, nothing besides Morning Prayer on Ascension day. There was no celebration or mention in any way of Eves or Vigils. When there was Evening Prayer on the Eve of a Holy-day, in consequence of the Eve happening on a Sunday, the Collect for the Holy-day was not used.

There was both Morning and Evening Prayer on Good Friday and a Sermon at each service. There was Morning Prayer on Ash Wednesday, but neither then nor at any other time was the Commination Office used. Special Lessons were used on Ash Wednesday in place of the Lessons prescribed in the Calendar.[1] The Lent Fast was never announced as such. Notice was given of catechising, which took place in Church during Lent on Sunday evenings, but not during divine service. The Congregation were enjoined to pay particular respect to Lent as a season of more than ordinary religious observance; but this announcement was not made till Quadragesima Sunday. The Morning Prayer and Litany on ordinary Wednesdays

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[1] The Rev. George Sutherland informs the writer that the following lessons for Ash Wednesday are marked in the margin of the leaf containing the proper lessons in a folio prayer book which belonged to Robert Forbes, Bishop of Ross and Caithness. The note (in the bishop's own hand) is as follows:—

PROPER LESSONS FOR ASH WEDNESDAY, USED BY BP. ANDREWES.

For the Morning Service
1st Lesson, Isaiah 58 Chap.
2d Lesson St. Luke 15 Chap
Evening
1st Lesson Isaiah 55
2d Less 2 Cor. 7. Chap

[Another note at the foot of the page:—]

According to Bp. Sage: Ash Wednesday Mattins Isa 58. St. Luke 13 or 15
Vespers Isa 55. 2 Cor 7.

According to Dr. Deacon: Ash Wednesday Mattins Joel i St. Luke 22 v. 54 to v. 63
Vesper Johnah [*sic*] 3. 1 Cor v.

and Fridays were the same as on Sunday, with the exception of the singing.

The mode in which the Eucharist was celebrated may now be mentioned. The Liturgy used, and the times of its celebration, have already been stated. It has also been mentioned that it was announced from the pulpit on the previous Sunday. On these occasions was read part of the first Exhortation, appointed in the English Communion Office to be used in giving warning of the celebration. Sometimes part, sometimes the whole, of the first paragraph of that Exhortation was used, but not the other two paragraphs. As has been mentioned, there was Morning Prayer on the Saturday, as well as on the Wednesday and Friday before Communion. On these three days the first Morning Lessons of the Calendar were superseded by the 51st, 53rd and 55th chapters of Isaiah; and a special prayer was used on the subject of the Communion, to be found in the Collection of Prayers and Thanksgivings used on particular occasions in St. Andrew's Chapel.

On the day of celebration, the service proceeded as already mentioned, to the end of the sermon. This was immediately followed by some Collects and the Benedictory Prayer from 2 Cor. xiii. Here the non-communicants retired, and the service recommenced with the seventh, eighth, and ninth verses of Brady and Tate's twenty-seventh Psalm. The service then proceeded in exact conformity with the Scottish Communion Office, as far as the delivery of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood to the people. When as many as could kneel at the Altar rails at one time had received the Sacrament, the Minister made an Address to them in a set form nowhere to be found in any Office used in the Church, nor, so far as is known, in any of the Hymn Books or other compilations for the use of St. Andrew's Chapel, but familiar to all grown-up members of the present Congregation. After this Address they were requested to join in singing a verse of the hymn on the Communion, which is printed in the Collection of Hymns and Anthems. The same form was repeated to each portion of the communicants. After all had received the Eucharist, the service proceeded to the end as in the Scottish Communion Office, except that, just before the Blessing, the Minister announced to the Communicants that there would be Morning Prayer on the following Monday, in order that they might have an opportunity of thanking God for the great mercies then bestowed upon them. On the great Festivals it was also the practice, immediately after the Gloria in Excelsis, to sing the concluding portion of what was called the Communion Hymn, as printed

in the Collection of Hymns and Anthems. The number of Communicants, especially at the high festivals, was great, and as the whole service, in the form above described, was very long, it was the custom of many to leave the Church after receiving the Communion, and before the service was concluded.

As has already been mentioned, there was Morning Prayer on the Monday after the Sunday on which the Eucharist was celebrated. On this occasion the first Daily Lesson was not read, but, in its place, the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy. There was also read a Thanksgiving for the Communion, immediately after the General Thanksgiving; the form of which is to be found in the Collection of Prayers and Thanksgivings above referred to. On the Feast of St. Stephen the Martyr, on Monday in Easter Week, and on Monday in Whitsun Week, there were also read special Thanksgivings, to be found in the same Collection. It was the practice, when there was service during the Octaves of Christmas, Easter, and the Ascension, during Whitsun Week, and on the Feast of Trinity, whether the Eucharist was actually celebrated or not, in the Communion Office, after the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, to read the Sursum Corda, the Proper Preface, and the Trisagium.

These remarks may be concluded with some observations on the other services of the Church. The Sacrament of Baptism was never celebrated before the Congregation. Children were christened either in private houses, or in the Chapel after Morning Service was over, and when the Congregation had retired. On these occasions, however, it was not the form of Private Baptism in the Prayer Book which was used, but that for Public Baptism, in whole or in part. There was no Font. This Sacrament was also ministered beside the Altar rails.[1] There was no particular rule or practice as to sponsors. The parents were allowed to act, as is still permitted by the Canons; and, it is believed that persons who were not Communicants, and not even members of the Church, were not excluded.

The children baptized in the above manner were not afterwards brought into the Church, in order that the Congregation might be certified that the true Form of Baptism had been used.

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[1] The practice in America, down to 1839 at least, seems to have been similar. In the *Dictionary of the Church*, already quoted, it is stated that 'the font for baptism is now usually placed within or near the chancel." See pp. 106, 238-9.

The Catechism was never used in the time of divine service. It was taught, however, in the Chapel on the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, after Morning Service. On the same days an explanation of the Catechism was also taught. On the evenings of the six Sundays in Lent, but not during divine service, a still longer explanation of the Catechism, divided into six parts, was taught in the Chapel. The sixth of these parts was devoted to those who proposed to communicate for the first time on Easter day. The other five parts were intended for those who had been confirmed, but who were supposed to be not yet fitted to receive the Communion. These five parts were presumed to be gone over by Catechumens in the course of five years; but the instruction was given to them not in the order of the parts, beginning with the first and so proceeding to the fifth, but beginning with any of them which might happen that particular year to be set apart to the portion of the Chapel where their parents' or guardians' pew was. The several Catechisms used on these different occasions are to be found in the printed collections of them still well known, and formerly in actual use in most Congregations in the Diocese of Aberdeen.

Holy Matrimony was not solemnized in Church but in private houses. Some portions of the Service in the Prayer Book were uniformly left out, as being supposed not conducive to edification, or disagreeable to the people. Some attention was paid, however, though not uniformly, to the rule of the Catholic Church in regard to the proper seasons for solemnizing marriage.

The Order for the Burial of the Dead was used in whole or in part, according to the form in the Prayer Book, but in the house of the departed, not in the Church or Churchyard.

The Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth was used in the form given in the Book of Common Prayer. It was said after the Creed at Morning or Evening Prayer. When it was used, the Kyrie Eleison, and the Lord's Prayer, after the Creed in the Daily Service were omitted.

All days of thanksgiving or fasting, appointed by the Sovereign, were regularly observed. When a day of thanksgiving for the harvest was ordered to be kept by the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Established Church, it was the uniform practice to observe the same. A form of thanksgiving used on such occasions, is to be found in the Collection already referred to. When a criminal was to be executed in the town of Aberdeen, a special form of prayer for him was used between the sentence and the execution. That form has not been printed so far as is known.

Such were the forms of the Regular and Occasional Services

at St. Andrew's Chapel when first erected, and so they continued, with no important alteration, in that Church, and in the present one, for many years.

It may, perhaps, be thought that the previous narrative is needlessly minute. If, however, the cause of the unhappy disputes, which have given rise to the present Trial, be examined, it is presumed that the absolute necessity of such an account, in order to explain the matters at issue, will be admitted.

It is hitherto simple narrative which has been given. No opinion is expressed as to the lawfulness or unlawfulness, expediency or inexpediency, of the forms used at St. Andrew's, so far as they differed from those in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Scottish Communion Office, at the time to which reference is made. It is known to the venerable Synod, and will immediately be particularly explained, that when these Forms were first used, and for many years after, Bishops and Incumbents in the Scottish Church were not governed by any precise Canons or Rubrics in regard to the mode of celebrating divine worship.

The Respondent will not proceed with the subsequent history of the Congregation. The first event of importance which took place after the erection of St. Andrew's Chapel in Longacre, was the appointment of the present Bishop of Aberdeen, as Assistant to the late Bishop, his father, in the Incumbency. This took place in 1802. A few changes in the mode of conducting Divine Service took place subsequently, but the Respondent has not been able to ascertain the exact period of their introduction. The Surplice was used at Morning and Evening Prayer, and at the Communion Office, except the Sermon. A partial use of the Ember Prayers was established. On the other hand, the use of the Prayer for the State of Christ's Church, when there was no Communion, was given up the service being concluded with the Collects and Blessing, both said in the Pulpit. An increase took place in the number of services. There was Evening as well as Morning Prayer on Ash Wednesday, and on every Wednesday and Friday in Lent after Quadragesima Sunday, and on each day of the Holy Week; and there was a Sermon on the morning of Holy Thursday, and Prayers in the evening. The former practice continued of announcing Lent on Quadragesima, in place of Quinquagesima Sunday, and in accordance therewith, although there was Evening Prayer on Ash Wednesday, there was none on the following Friday. It is somewhat singular that the same practice as to the commencement of Lent prevailed in the ancient Scottish Church, and was one of the usages altered by

the influence of St. Margaret. Of old, as then, it was probably the mere effect of a custom introduced in some unknown way. Cer[tainly] there was no thought of the authority for such a practice, or of the diversities as to the commencement of Lent in the ancient Church Catholic, and in, at least, one celebrated Church of the Roman Communion in modern times.

[The following is from the Appendix to the Wagstaff Case].

No. XLII.—FORM of PRAYER used in St. Andrew's Church for a Convict under Sentence of Death (for murder).

O most just and Holy Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, who bringeth to light the hidden things of darkness, and visitest the sins of the wicked upon even them in this life, that thou mayest deter others from the evil of their ways, and save their souls in the day of the Lord Jesus. Whilst we humbly adore the justice of Thy Divine Providence, we most earnestly recommend to thine infinite mercy and compassion all those who, for their crimes, are appointed to die; more especially Thy very unworthy servant, now lying under sentence of death in this place. Deal not with him, O God, as his sins have justly deserved, but let the rod of punishment which now lies heavy on his body, be effectual by Thy Grace, to the preservation of his soul. Open now his eyes, that he may see the wonderful things of Thy law. Take away from him, we humbly beseech Thee, all his former ignorance and hardness of heart. Help him, O gracious God, so carefully to improve the short space yet left him for repentance, that his small remaining portion of time may afford him some comfort, some hope of mercy at his untimely end. O give him a just sense of his flagrant iniquity, and blot out of Thy remembrance his many crying and notorious sins, especially that cruel and murderous deed for which he is now to die. When the justice of God and the law of man require life for life, let Thy mercy, O Blessed Jesus! present thy precious blood for him, and thy sufferings save him from eternal death. And grant, O Lord! that our Land may not be defiled with unavenged blood crying unto Thee for judgment, but that all transgressors and contemners of Thy holy law, may take warning from such necessary examples of temporal punishment, and renounce and forsake those wicked and sinful courses which expose them to thy wrath and indignation for ever. Hear our prayers, O Lord! and grant us a gracious acceptance for the sake and through the merits of Thy blessed Son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.—Amen.

APPENDIX VI

THE CULTUS EUCHARISTIAE

[From an article in *The Church Times*, 23rd October, 1908, p. 542, entitled "The Newer Eucharistic Theology."]

It is unnecessary to restate the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, in which the Real Presence of our Lord under the forms of bread and wine, and the nature of the offering as a true and proper Sacrifice, are indissolubly united and are interdependent. From this doctrine of our Lord's Presence, that of Eucharistic adoration follows. . . . But while in the undivided Church of old and in the East to-day, the adoration of our Lord present in the Eucharist was and is subordinate to the first intention of the rite, which is communion and sacrifice; in later times in the West this adoration has come to take, in practice at least, an equal, if not a more prominent, place.

To understand this change we must try and recall in the first place how the essential character of the Eucharist as a sacrifice offered to the Blessed Trinity, and, in a sense, specially to the First Person, is brought out by the language of every Christian liturgy. All Eucharistic prayers are addressed to the Eternal Father, with only occasional and insignificant local exceptions. Here we see the primitive conception of the rite. At the beginning of the Middle Ages in the West we note the coming of a change in the treatment of the Mass. The doctrine of the Real Presence is attacked, and the attack is repelled, although not, perhaps, in an entirely satisfactory way. The Catholic doctrine is vindicated by the elevation of the newly-consecrated Host for adoration. This became general in the West during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Little by little the essential elements of an Exposition for Adoration, now so familiar, became added to the canon of the Mass, which, instead of being said in the stillness and silence reminiscent of the drawn curtains of earlier days, came to be accompanied with additional lights, the use of incense, gestures of adoration, and the ringing of bells. A few short prayers addressed to our Blessed Lord found their way into mediæval missals; they were but private devotions for the celebrant, however. Bells and lights were carried in honour of the Blessed Sacrament when taken to the sick. The feast of Corpus Christi was introduced, first as a Low Country festival, and then by Papal authority for the whole Western Church. Processions of the Blessed

Sacrament became more and more common, with increasingly elaborate ceremonial, and the open monstrance succeeded the closed pix. Later on the Exposition of, and Benediction with, the reserved Sacrament which accompanied Eucharistic processions became separated from them and were used alone. This was about the time of the Reformation, and these devotions seemed to supply a want strongly felt by Catholics, who rejoiced in finding a new means of testifying to their sacramental belief in the face of Protestant denials and blasphemies. It was not long before the authorities of the Church were obliged to regulate and restrain popular enthusiasm, and towards the end of the seventeenth century the great French liturgiologist, J. B. Thiers, wrote a treatise on the subject, in which he strongly urges the need of a wholesome restraint in the extra-liturgical use of the Holy Eucharist. Nearer our own day the restrictions on the use of these devotions have been more and more relaxed, particularly in certain countries, till at last Benediction and Exposition have reached the frequency we now see among our Roman Catholic neighbours. With them Benediction is the almost universal Sunday evening service in this country and in America, and is admittedly far more popular than the Mass itself with a large class of worshippers. The change has been enormous and far-reaching; it has altered the whole popular conception of the Eucharist. . . . . .

Side by side with the *Cultus Eucharistiæ*, we may note the growth of that dread of the loss of the slightest particle of the consecrated species which led to the withdrawal of the chalice from the laity. Here again we have a similar instance of the application of a too rigorous logic to the doctrine of the Rea Presence. Western theologians pressed the need of reverent care for the sacred gift to such an extent that they mutilated the Communion of the faithful, for fear of accidents. Beginning from motives of reverence to our Lord, they ended in disobeying His command " Drink ye all of it."

Let us now turn to the East.

During all the Christian centuries the practice of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church has remained untouched by what has gone on in the West. The liturgies of SS. Basil and John Chrysostom have been celebrated upon Sunday and festival, just as of old. The faithful have always received in both kinds and the Blessed Sacrament has been continuously reserved in every church and taken to the sick and infirm. The ceremonial surroundings are no less magnificent than those of the West—to many they seem far more impressive. The closed doors and drawn curtain at the time of the consecration proclaim, in no

uncertain way, that the unfathomable mystery is being accomplished which passes man's understanding, and which the angels desire to look into. There is no shadow of doubt as to the Real Presence or the true sacrifice. The priest offers to God the Father "this reasonable and unbloody worship," and prays Him to send His Holy Spirit to make the bread the Body and the wine the Blood of Christ. The language throughout the liturgy is more definite on the Sacrifice and Real Presence than that of the Roman missal. But there is no Exposition or Benediction, no procession of the Holy Eucharist, and there are no "visits" to "the Divine Prisoner of the Tabernacle." The external marks and gestures of adoration are only used in connexion with the liturgy itself and more specially with the act of Communion. Although no one genuflects when passing before the reserved Sacrament, the priest prostrates himself before the holy Gifts when in the act of taking them for the Communion of the sick, because it is for that sacrificial act that the Divine Presence is given. Yet the Eastern is as much at home in his church and has as strong a realization of the presence of God as any Western. And it is in the East that an even deeper and stronger faith in the reality of the Eucharistic gift carries out to the letter, by the Communion of children, the command of Him who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me."

Is it not a remarkable fact that, whereas in the West the mediæval application of a relentless (and shall we say human?) logic to this Divine mystery has been followed by negations, heresies and schisms, with a materialising denial of the truth of the Eucharist, the faith of Christians throughout the East in our Lord's presence has never wavered?

APPENDIX VII

A Letter from Bishop Jolly about Introducing the Surplice.

The ten shil. I'm afraid exceed my claim for postage upon the Fund. Since writing the above a thought has taken possession of my old noddle, which, had it enter'd before your transmission of the money, I would have had less hesitation to lay before your kind indulgence. The surplice is now pretty generally, if not universally, used through Ab^n^. Diocese; and that we may promote uniformity in a practice so very

ancient and decent, I would have requested of your goodness to order and get made for us in Ed^r., where it can best be done, I imagine, a decent surplice, of best description for each of us (Mr. P. and me). Now, as you are going to send a parcel for him, might not you quickly get ready two such, and send all in a Box, to be added in price to theirs? But, even by the Mail, I would have them (if no other conveyance be found) before Christmas-day, that we may then consecrate them in honour of that high Festival. I shall soon, I hope, find some opportunity of remitting the whole price. Pardon this freedom, my very good sir, and grant the request of your obliged servant, who will go to the expense of a new scarf with his surplice, which may be wrapt up in it.

[In margin] 1825 Bp. Jolly to Mr. Pressley.

[Endorsed] The Reverend James Walker
N. 22 Stafford Street
Edinburgh

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